

SOME HIDDEN FACTS

Martyrdom of Shaheed Bhagat Singh

Secrets unfolded by
an Intelligence Bureau Agent of British-india

Kulwant Singh Kooner
Gurpreet Singh Sindhra

UNISTAR

International Publishers
of Indian and Foreign Languages



Representation Offices

- 596 Street, Madera, California-93638
- 8 Automatic Rd, Unit 2C, Brampton L6S 3N5, Canada

History/Biography/Indian freedom movement/Revolutionary movement

ISBN : 978-93-5113-061-1

SOME HIDDEN FACTS

Martyrdom of Shaheed Bhagat Singh

Secrets unfold by an Intelligence Bureau Agent of British-India

by

Kulwant Singh Kooner
Gurpreet Singh Sindhra

2013

Unistar Books Pvt. Ltd.

S.C.O. 26-27, Sector 34 A, Chandigarh-160022

Ph.0172-5077427, 5077428

email: unistarbooks@gmail.com

www.unistarbooks.com

Punjabi Bhawan, Ludhiana

Printed & bound at Unistar Books Pvt. Ltd.

301, Industrial Area, Phase-9,

S.A.S. Nagar, Mohali-Chandigarh (India)

Mob: 98154-71219

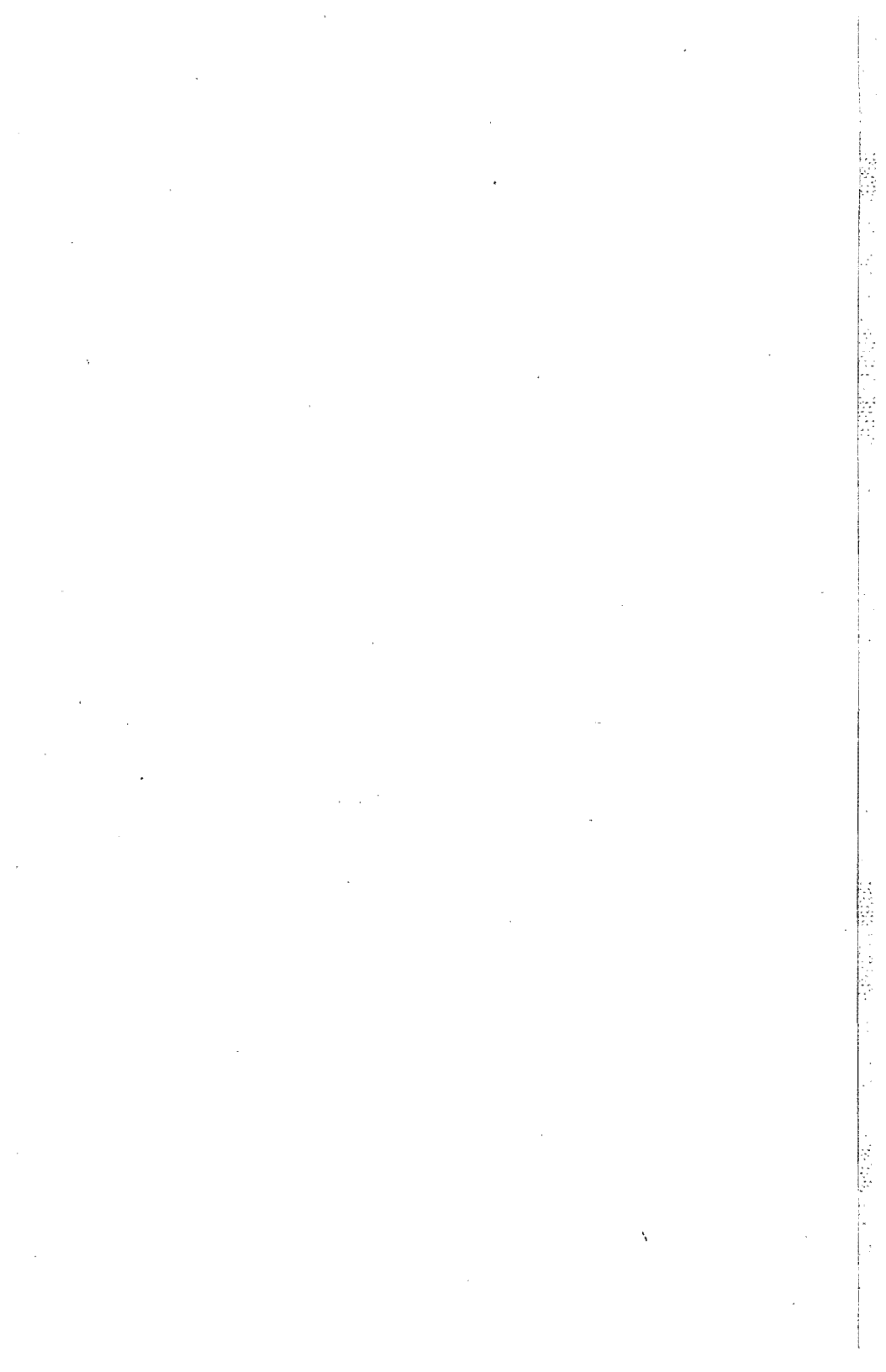
Produced and Bound in India

© 2013

All rights reserved

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior written consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser and without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise), without the prior written permission of both the copyright owner and the above-mentioned publisher of this book.

TO all THOSE who have, would and
are sacrificing their lives for human betterment
all over the WORLD.



Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Breaking the Myths	9
Shattering the Beliefs	17
◆ Chapter 1 : A Greatman Beyond Criticism	25
◆ Chapter 2 : The Cross Agent	41
◆ Chapter 3 : The Trap in Lahore	53
◆ Chapter 4 : Bhagat Irwin Gandhi	59
◆ Chapter 5 : The Darken Nights	75
◆ The Conclusion	89
Annexure - I	97
Annexure -II	109
Annexure -III	116
Annexure -IV	118
Annexure -V	123
Annexure -VI	135
Annexure -VII	137
Annexure -VIII	139
Annexure -IX	144
Important Events Occurred during the life of Bhagat Singh	153
Pages of Diary of Mr. V. M. Smith	175
End Notes	182
Maps	
Lahore City - (1927-28)	
District Lahore - Ferozepur - Amritsar (1929-31)	

**'IF IT DOES NOT STAND TO THE ONSLAUGHT
OF REASON IT CRUMBLES DOWN'**

Bhagat Singh
– *Why I am an Atheist?*

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge my thanks with regards to the senior historians and writers whose work of words and fiction help me in finding the supporting references. In this regard I pay gratitude to Mr. A.G. Noorani, *The Trial of Bhagat Singh*; Kuldeep Nayar *The Martyr*; K.K. Khullar *'Shaheed Bhagat Singh*; S.R. Bakshi *'Patriot and Martyr, Bhagat Singh*; Kamlesh Mohan *'Militant Nationalism in Punjab*; Gurdev Singh Deol *'Shaheed Bhagat Singh*; Shiv Verma *'Ang-Sang in Punjabi*; Manmath Nath Gupta *'Bhagat Singh and His Times*; Jag Mohan Singh *'The collection of writing of Bhagat Singh and his Comrades*;

This research work could not have been completed without the active support of T. P. Singh, the Director of Punjabi Theatre Academy U.K. and Sardar Bhupinder Singh Purewal, the Media Advisor and a Researcher to the P.T.A. who helped me to become a member of the British Library London and enabled me to reach to various records, files and maps related to my research.

I am also thankful to many friends and comrades who have given me valuable suggestions from time to time; especially Prof Mohinder Singh Dhillon, the Principal of Govt. College, Bela, Ropar, Darshan Dhillon 'the Councilor of Slough, U.K.', Prof. Jag Mohan Singh, 'Nephew of Bhagat Singh', Surinder Cheema and Harpal Brar U.K. and Harish Jain.

Above all I regardfully thank the O.I.O.C. Section staff of the British Library London for providing me the records.

And many more who have helped me in completing this job,

including my respected father Sardar Charan Singh Sindhra, Anupam Deep Kaur Jammu and Dr. Pardeep Singh Sandhu (for correcting and keeping my rough notes intact), S. Davinder Singh who typed and retyped the draft and saved in the computer and Padam Deep Singh Sindhra, my younger son who made the portraits of the Martyrs as desired and described by Kulwant Singh Kooner.

I am also grateful to Bibi Baljit Kaur Kooner, Aneet Indra and Paramjit Kaur of U.K. who provided me hospitality and homely atmosphere during my stay in U.K..

Breaking the Myths

In 1966, when my respected father Sardar Charan Singh Sindhra was in Punjab Public Relation Department at Ferozepur, I, being a middle school student, had the first chance on March 23rd to visit the 'Samadhi' (the cremation place) of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev at Hussaniwala during a function held by the district administration in the memory of the martyrs.

I still remember the brick-platform, around which thick weeds and bushes had grown, where my mother had bowed her head and I also followed her. It was the place where the Britishers had performed the midnight cremation of the remains of the martyrs. But Why? I queried and my father told me that these young man resolved to overthrow the British Rule, and being declared rebels they were handed to death at Lahore, and their bodies were secretly brought here and put on fire under the bridge.

I was only 12 years old when the first picture of Shaheed Bhagat Singh was embedded in my mind. After that in October 1970, when the whole Punjab was in turmoil due to student's agitation known as "Moga-Regal Cinema Movement", I heard more frequently about Bhagat Singh as every speaker who came to Khalsa College, Amritsar to convince the students to join the ongoing agitation, gave the example of courage and bravery of Bhagat Singh.

Leaders were describing Shaheed Bhagat Singh in such a way that I got impressed by the aims and objects of Sardar Bhagat Singh

and his ideas about the 'Revolution'. I joined the organization, the AISF, (All India Student Federation), which was founded by Bhagat Singh himself in 1926 at Lahore). I studied a lot about "the Revolution", the Socialism, but I could not get any convincing answer to a question, **Why Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged in the evening instead of early morning ritual & tradition.**

Very small material was available about Bhagat Singh in the History books at that time in the libraries. So the mind was not satisfied with various explanations being given by the leaders and historians. Many books and articles were published on Shaheed Bhagat Singh from 1975 to 1985, after the declaration of "PUNJAB MATA AWARD" to Smt Vidhya Wati, the honourable mother of Bhagat Singh, by Gyani Zail Singh, the then Chief Minister of Punjab. Most of those publications were brought out by the old associates of Bhagat Singh, but none of those threw any light on the question, **"Why Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged in the evening?"**

What were the compulsions of the British authorities of India, to do an illegal work and get a bad name for it?

Why the cremation was done secretly at a distant place from the place of execution? It is to be noted that the place said to be the cremation site at Hussaniwala, is 50 miles (80 Kilometers) away from Lahore.

Is there any truth about the saying that the execution was fixed for morning 24th March, but, due to the fear of some law and order problem by the people, it was carried out earlier?

Who was responsible for that?

Whether it was;

- a) the jail authorities of the Central jail Lahore?
- b) the District Administration of Lahore?
- c) the officers of the police and C.I.D. Punjab?

- d) the Governor of Punjab, Sir Geoffrey-de-Montorency I.C.S.?
- e) the Indian National Congress party or Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru or the racial lobby in London and in India.
- f) Mahatma Gandhi or Lord Irwin?
- g) or Bhagat Singh himself was responsible for early execution.

With the passage of time many more questions and doubts crept to my mind. The most indigestible was the story of Hussainwala. Although the close relatives of Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev were alive till 50 years of Independence of India, but no one had raised the doubt about the rightness of last place of cremation at Hussainiwala.

The description being told by Bibi Amar Kaur, the sister of Bhagat Singh was accepted by all of us. The same explanation was also written in the book, "PATRIOT AND MARTYR' by S.R. Bakshi. On page no. 117 he notes down the statement of Jai Dev Gupta as follow:-

... After the hanging, when the bodies had not been given, the fear was that they were taken out somewhere for cremation. The situation was very tense. Everybody was sad, sullen and angry..... Early in the morning of 24th March, two volunteers came from Ferozpur and informed that the bodies had been cremated on the banks of the river Sutlej... we four of us boarded the train at Lahore and got down at Ganda Singh Wala railway Station..... Some bones here, some bones there, some flesh there. But there was one bone.....the bone was rather very long.... The bone was given to Dr, Gopi Chand Bhargava and Dr. Satyapal..... (The details are in the last chapter).

Here again a question arises when the State-Power had decided to execute the accused at night against all norms and rules that **what was the compulsion to take the dead-bodies 50 miles away from the site of execution?** If it had to be carried out on a lonely place, in order to hide the cremation then the choice of Hussainiwala was totally

wrong and ill conceived.

The place where we Indians are paying our tributes to the three Martyrs every year on 23rd March is just 500 meters away from the Western gate of the present bridge towards the old bridge from where heavy traffic of road and rail was passing frequently 75 years ago. The railway track was the busiest route connecting Multan-Lahore to Ferozpur-Ludhiana District Headquarters. **So how the cremation could be kept secret and safe on such a place?**

Moreover the main western canal, the Dipalpur canal emerging from Hussainiwala Headworks was also flowing with full capacity to irrigate the area of Bhahawalpur; so it is indigestible story that a very clever and cunning British Authority of India had chosen such a place where people and traffic was passing frequently.

As the story being carried on that the people of nearby village Ganda Singh Wala reached the site after seeing the high flames of pyres. British officers retreated on seeing the heavy rush of public, and the people, then collected the half burnt body-pieces presumed to be belonging, to our beloved Martyrs. Here again one can ask "whether the English men were so weak and unarmed that they did not resist the public? If the state administration had made all the arrangements of early execution, secret cremation and the public announcement (declaration) for the same, well in advance how could it not be aware of public reaction at the cremation place?

If we go through the old maps of 1929 to 1931 A.D. none dared to think upon any of the question. Everyone has had accepted the stories and evidences without any doubts: Only Sardar Kishan Singh had raised his doubts about the correctness being kept in the British Library London (U.K.) the village Ganda Singh Wala was situated 4 miles (6 Kms) away from the present site towards west, how could the villagers saw the fire being lit at a far off distance? Alright if any one had seen the fire at midnight of quiet March, then he or she had shared with the people only then a gathering of big crowd was possible, and then it might took at least two -three hours to cover the distance of 4 miles (more than 6 Kilometers) by brisk walk to reach at the site of

cremation in the darkness.

Could it be possible that the dead bodies placed on a heavy fire of Pyre for 2-3 hours and still remained unburnt?

Only Questions and questions are there about the last rites of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and of the place and process of cremation at the public rally said to be held on 24th March 1931 evening at the banks of river RAVI at Lahore City where the remains of dead bodies of the three were cremated by the people. He shared his view, "It is impossible to believe the correctness of last rites as the area where the pyre was lit was very small for three dead bodies and it seems to be wrong as claimed by the authorities that about 40 Mands (Old measurement of weight – equal to 1500 Kilograms) of firewood was consumed and a very small earth-layer was burnt at the site."

Ultimately an enquiry committee was constituted by the Indian National Congress party of Punjab but nothing was resulted and the truth of 23rd night of March 1931 remained hidden.

Mr. Kulwant Singh Kooner coincidentally the *DHARAM-PUTTAR* son to a god father, of Mr. Dalip Singh Alahabadi, who was an-ex sepyo of the British Secret Service in India from 1925 to 1936. As he (Dalip Singh) knew many secrets of the English officers and Indian political leaders of that time, his life was in danger so he ran away from his job silently and remained underground in the guise of a Sanyasi. (a Saint) in Maharashtra. During his duty at Lahore and Delhi he had a chance to come close to those secret agents who were deputed on Shaheed Bhagat Singh and ultimately, he got a chance to get the last letter being written by Bhagat Singh in the name of his people of Bharat Mata. He kept the letter for 15 years with him in order to hand it over to Sardar Kishan Singh, the father of Bhagat Singh, as he had promised with his counterpart Afjal Rahi (Jharru-Master) an agent of Directorate of Intelligence Beauru of India who served Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in their death cells as a sweeper and was slain by the English officer of Lahore after the execution of three on night of 25th March 1931.

When the British-Government had decided to quit India in 1946

Dalip Singh came to Lahore to find any relative of Bhagat Singh and so he met by chance, to Giani Tirlok Singh Kooner, the father of Kulwant Singh Kooner, and Swami Atma Ananda who were working in a bank at Lahore. They all the three became fast friends. In April-May 1951 Dalip Singh met Sardar Kishan Singh along with Giani Tirlok Singh Kooner at village Khatker Kalan and told him about the last letter of Bhagat Singh. He described him all about the letter and his own efforts to search the family of Bhagat Singh. But due to the death of Sardar Kishan Singh, Dalip Singh could not hand over that letter from his hiding place after a month or so in June- July 1951.

Many secrets were revealed by Dalip Singh to Giani Tirlok Singh ji, and Swami Atma Anand who was later on settled at Devi Talab Mandir, Kapurthala to preach the Arya Samaj Philosophy, when ever he came to Punjab. Dalip Singh also joined the Arya Samaj and became a preacher. He adopted Kulwant Singh alias Gural Singh as his Dharam Puttar and shared all his experiences and knowledge of secrets with Kulwant Singh. He took promise from Kulwant Singh to reveal the hidden truth about Bhagat Singh's fate to the people of Punjab. But without any solid proof how Kulwant Singh could have make the people to believe all.

Dalip Singh repented on his own folly, to having handed over all the secret papers to his old confidant, a leader of Congress party, who belonged to a very poor family but due to his sincerity of work he became a Minister in the Central Government of India after Independence and ultimately became the Prime Minister of India. Dalip Singh told that, that person became the Prime Minister only because of those secret documents and reports which were deadly against the Nehru's family.

From 1975 to 1990, Kulwant Singh Kooner recollects his memories and made note of all in order to publish them. But due to the family pressure he did not succeed in his mission. At one juncture of life Giani Tirlok Singh took all the papers and notes from Kulwant Singh with a false promise to publish it, but sorry, all the papers were put on fire at village Dhani, the birth place of Kulwant Singh near Phagwara.

Then after the death of his father, Kooner again, started recollecting his memories in 1992 and approached various persons to help him to tell the truth to the world but no one took him seriously. Rather many of them declared him a spilt personality. His notes were in Punjabi (Gurumukhi) script and have had no continuity. Moreover many hand written notes of Dalip Singh Alahabadi were lost for ever. Even he sent his notes to few producers of Bollywood including Hindi and Punjabi feature film makers. During his efforts he came across with my younger brother Tejinder Pal Singh (T.P.Singh) of Punjabi Theater Academy U.K. They jointly started a new venture to produce a full length movie.

Many explanations and informations being given by Kulwant Singh Kooner were providing the answers to those many questions which were creeping in my mind. So a search for any clues and documentary evidences was started in Libraries and archives in London. So slowly and steadily the hidden truth came to light and a book was ready in Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script.

But, when Harish Jain of Unistar Books, Chandigarh went through the whole script he suggested rewriting the concept in English so that the whole researched work could reach to the maximum people.

Many faiths and notions are on test with this research work. Many prevailing stories about our great heroes are bound to crumble down and many new questions would raise in the minds of readers. Question and doubts are welcomed to go deep in the sea of secrets. With the passage of time many more evidences would come on the surface as tons of secret files, official orders, and banned documents are still kept in the tight security and custody of the British Empire's record rooms.

The brave son of India and my Hero Sardar Bhagat Singh whose first centenary birthday celebrations are to be held from 27th September 2005 and whose 75th death anniversary would be falling on March 23rd, 2006, I am placing this work in the court of the people and historians of Universe with these words of his own writings;

Any man who stands for progress has to criticize disbelieve and challenge every item of the old faith. Items by items he has to reason out every nook and corner of the prevailing faith. If after considerable reasoning one is led to believe in any theory or philosophy his faith is welcomed. His reasoning can be mistaken, wrong, misled and some times fallacious. But he is liable to correction because reason is the guiding star of his life. But mere faith and blind faith is dangerous, it dulls the brain and makes a man reactionary. "A MAN WHO CLAIMS TO BE A REALIST HAS TO CHALLENGE THE WHOLE OF THE ANCIENT FAITH. IF IT DOES NOT STAND THE ONSLAUGHT OF REASON IT CRUMBLES DOWN". (Why I am an Atheist?)

GURPREET SINGH SINDHRA

Shattering the Beliefs

It is human psychology to accept few narrations and stories without any question and develop a firm belief on it. Second aspect of the psychology is that a person could not believe a true story even, if it is backed up with logic and proof.

The 'Moon' confirms the both aspects of human nature. Most of the people still believe the old stories about the 'Moon' which were being told by their elders during their childhood. When a child asks about the shadow seen in the 'Full-Moon', the mother and other elders reply that an old lady was spinning the thread or she was weeping for her son.. Although the man has placed its feet on the Moonland and explored it in July 1969 and till today man is reaching out further in the space. But the common man did not accept it.

A person during his or her childhood listens many stories and narrating of events, sees many happenings with his/her eyes which get printed on the brain. But slowly and steadily most of the events get forgotten by the person but some remain so strong that the person could not forget with the passage of time, these become a permanent belief for him or her. Fear psychosis is the glaring example of horrifying stories of childhood. While a faith has had the background of childhood teachings? From childhood to manhood and from manhood to the parenthood, a person carried those beliefs and faith with him/her and told those stories to his/her nearers and dearers, if the listener did not confront with that and accepts it then that story or narration became a legend.

An example to above explanation is related with Martyr Bhagat Singh which is considered by most of the people of India and Punjab as a true story but there is no truth in it at all, still the story goes on from one mouth to others.

When Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were hanged to death on 23rd March 1931, by the British India Government, the whole India raised the slogan **"INQULAB-ZINDA BAD"**. All the three became Martyrs of Bharat Mata (India) Britishers declared a ban on any thing in praise of the three. Every thing about Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev's last days was in dark, the truth was hidden under the official secret act, so the atmosphere had been filled with many stories and gossips which were the handiwork of Britisher or Indian politicians

The people of Punjab slowly and steadily came out of the tragedy and had started the Martyrdom day's celebration. On such an occasion a poet paid his tribute to Bhagat Singh by reciting a poem in which he described the sentiments and emotions of young lady who had gone to the jail to meet her would be bridegroom Bhagat Singh. The wording and the presentation of poem was so strong that the listeners were mesmerized. The public had developed a belief that a young lady was in love with Bhagat Singh.

Recently when 4-5 Hindi movies, pictures were made on the life of Martyr Bhagat Singh, all the producers and directors of the pictures exploited the situation in which they tended to show that Bhagat Singh has had a love lady. It was totally wrong. Such adulteration of history is condemnable. But who cares?

On the other hand various events had occurred in reality but people do not believed the narrations. Whenever any body tries to rectify the mistakes and wrong notion in the tales of the Hero, no one is ready to accept the correction. Similarly, when I told some hidden truths about Bhagat Singh to my friends and public men in 1980 in U.K., no one believed me. Those hidden truths were shared with me by my god father Dalip Singh Alahabadi who was once an active secret agent of British Intelligence service in India from 1925 to 1935 A.D. According to Mr. Dalip Singh Alahabadi, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were shot dead by the English officers of Lahore, who

had developed hatred feeling on racial ground with Bhagat Singh. He further told that the Hussaniwala was not the real place of cremation and they were cremated far away from Hussaniwala on the right bank of Beas, where it is merging with Satluj River.

I recollected my memories and wrote down in my own language Punjabi with Gurumukhi script in 1980. I urged my father Giani Tirlok Singh ji to guide me for publishing the written material. My father warned me that if I published all those secrets of British Raj being told by his old friend, then I might be trapped by the Indian Government (Smt Indra Gandhi the daughter of Pt. Jawaharlal, was in power at that time and horrifying stories about infamous "EMERGENCY" era (1975-1980) were in air at that time in U.K.

My father Giani Tirlok Singh ji came to England in 1958. Before that he was in banking job at Lahore in 1946, where he met Mr. Dalip Singh. There was an interesting story about their first meeting. My father and his friend Sant Atma Anand ji were taking their lunch in a small hotel in Lahore in February 1947. When a Nihang Sikh (Sikh wearing a deep blue clothes along with very large turban on the head and a long sword on the side of waist and said to be the part of Sikh militia) came there and begs for a cup of tea and meal. My father got angered and asked him "Why are you bringing a bad name to the Sikhs? You are a well built healthy man – do some physical work and earn your meal! A Gursikh (man of god) never begs like you!"

Sant Atma Ananda ji intervened and ordered my father to have patience. Then he called back the Nihang and asked about his problem. The Nihang told his life story in brief and revealed that he came here after 15 years and is looking for the relatives of Bhagat Singh, who was hanged in the jail at Lahore. But he could not get any clue or information about any of them. After taking the meal they all went to my father's room. The Nihang Dalip Singh Alahabadi became good friend of my father and showed his interest in Arya Samaj movement.

Dalip Singh ji remained unmarried through out his life. After my birth my parents gave me the name "Gupal Singh" when I was 6 years old my name was changed to Kulwant Singh on the wishes of Dalip Singh. He adopted me verbally as a son and gave me the love and

affection accordingly throughout his life. I asked him many times why he had changed my name to Kulwant Singh. Every time he replied in short with a smile on his face that he would answer when time would come.

When I attained the age for marriage Dalip Singh ji again insisted upon my father to marry me with a girl from "the Sandhu family" but he did not told any reason for his desire. My father and Swami Atma Ananda ji of Devi Talab Mandir Kapurthala accepted his desire and I got married with a girl (Baljit Kaur) from a Sandhu family of Nakodar.

Sant Dalip Singh visited Dhani, my ancestral village every year and shared many secrets of British-India regime, although I was not mature enough to understand all he talked about but I got fascinated when ever he revealed some thing about Sardar Bhagat Singh, Chandra Skekhar Azad and about Jallianwala Bag.

When I was 12-13 years old one day Dalip Singh ji called me and asked "What do you know about Bhagat Singh?" I replied that I had no knowledge about Bhagat Singh but I did take enjoyment when ever you had discussed any thing about him. Then he told me that Bhagat Singh was your elder brother, like an elder brother. Then he gave me a small book on the life of Bhagat Singh. It was in Punjabi script and on one page he showed me the name of brother of Bhagat Singh where my name 'Kulwant Singh' was also present along with other names. From that day onward I considered my self as the younger brother of Bhagat Singh.

My father, time and again warned me not to take seriously what Sant Dalip Singh told, but I could not obey his orders and spent my maximum time on thinking about what Sant ji had told me. My studies at school suffered a lot because of that. Meanwhile my father Giani Tirlok Singh ji decided to take me to England where he was working at DERBY but I did not agree to go to England but when my father shared his feeling with Dalip Singh, he readily called me and ordered me to go with my father. With love and affection Dalip Singh requested my father to look after his son and to send back to India when ever he (Dalip Singh) desired to meet me. So in 1968 I arrived in England and start working in an industry and slowly and steadily

forgot Bhagat Singh.

When my elder son took birth at Derby every body in my family suggested many names for the baby but my father did not accept any. After many days my father named the baby as 'DALIP SINGH'. My eyes were full of tears after hearing the word "Dalip Singh". The charming glowing face of Sant Dalip Singh ji flashed in my mind and all the forgotten events got alive.

Then in 1975 I visited India with my wife Baljit Kaur, my son Dalip Singh I met Swami Atma Ananda at Kapurthala and requested him to call my godfather Dalip Singh ji. After some days I got a message from Kapurthala that Dalip Singh was waiting for me, immediately rushed to Devi Talab where Dalip Singh told me in detail all about the secrets of the dark night of March 23, 1931. For 7-8 days he shared with me the whole story of his life. He took a promise from me to reveal the secrets of Bhagat Singh episode with the people of Punjab.

Now the main task before me was to write down all the revelations of Dalip Singh. When ever I got time whether it was a day or night I recollected my memories and made notes of all. But my language was very poor as I could not get through the middle standard. The soul and spirit of Dalip Singh was haunting me and recalled my unfulfilled promise.

In 1979-80 a society was formed in Derby City in the name of *SHAHEED BHAGAT SINGH CULTURAL SOCIETY*, under the presidency of Mr. Rajinder Singh Bains, in order to celebrate the 50th Martyrdom Day of the Shaheed. I also joined the society and shared some secrets with the members but no one took me seriously. As I was myself a good Hockey player and was playing the game for the Indian Hockey Club Derby since 1976-77, I suggested my friends and members of the I.H.C. to organize a big tournament of various games being played by Punjabis and the Indians in Derby in the name of Shaheed 'Bhagat Singh and the first such tournament was held in Derby in May 1980. With the active support of various Indian societies, clubs and the Sikh Gurudawaras of Derby, it gave an opportunity to share more about the life of Shaheed Bhagat Singh but I could not make use of all that.

At home every member was annoyed with me especially my father was more upset as he thought that any disclosure of secrets of an ex-agent of British –India Intelligence Bureau might put my life in danger. But when he understood that nothing could stop me to do that, he changed his attitude and took all the notes being written by me along with other papers which were given by Dalip Singh Ji to me, on the pretext of publishing the same from a publisher-friend of him in India. But sorry my father destroyed all the writings in 1990.

I, rewrote the whole concept and approached 3-4 producers of Hindi & Punjabi feature films and discussed with them all the secrets about Bhagat Singh execution but I had no solid proof to support my writings. Although no one accepted my version but picked up many clues and descriptions from it for their feature films on Shaheed Bhagat Singh. None of them gave credit to me.

Then I met T.P.Singh of the Punjabi Theatre Academy U.K. who had produced and directed many plays in Punjabi on the lives of Martyrs. Before producing any play or documentary film on the subject he suggested me to have a search on the subject from the archives and Libraries in U.K. He also suggested me the name of Dr.G.S.Sindhra a screen play writer who has had long association with the ideology of Bhagat Singh and others.

During the research work Dr.G.S. Sindhra found many documentary clues and proofs in support of my writings. So it was decided to publish a book before starting any work on a film and this book on the Hidden Truths became a reality.

I am very thankful to all those who had encouraged me, helped me, guided me and suggested me how to keep my promise of revealing the secrets of an important era of India's freedom struggle during which many young patriots sacrificed their precious lives.

I am also grateful to the Indian Hockey Club Derby, the Shaheed Bhagat Singh Welfare Centre Derby, the organizers of Shaheed Bhagat Singh Sports Tournament Derby, the Gurudawara Shri Guru Arjan Dev Ji Derby, and the Punjab Times Derby.

I pay my gratitude with regards to Sardar Charan Singh Sindhra for valuable guidance, and to the staff of the City Council Library Derby, to the Indian members of the City council of Derby.

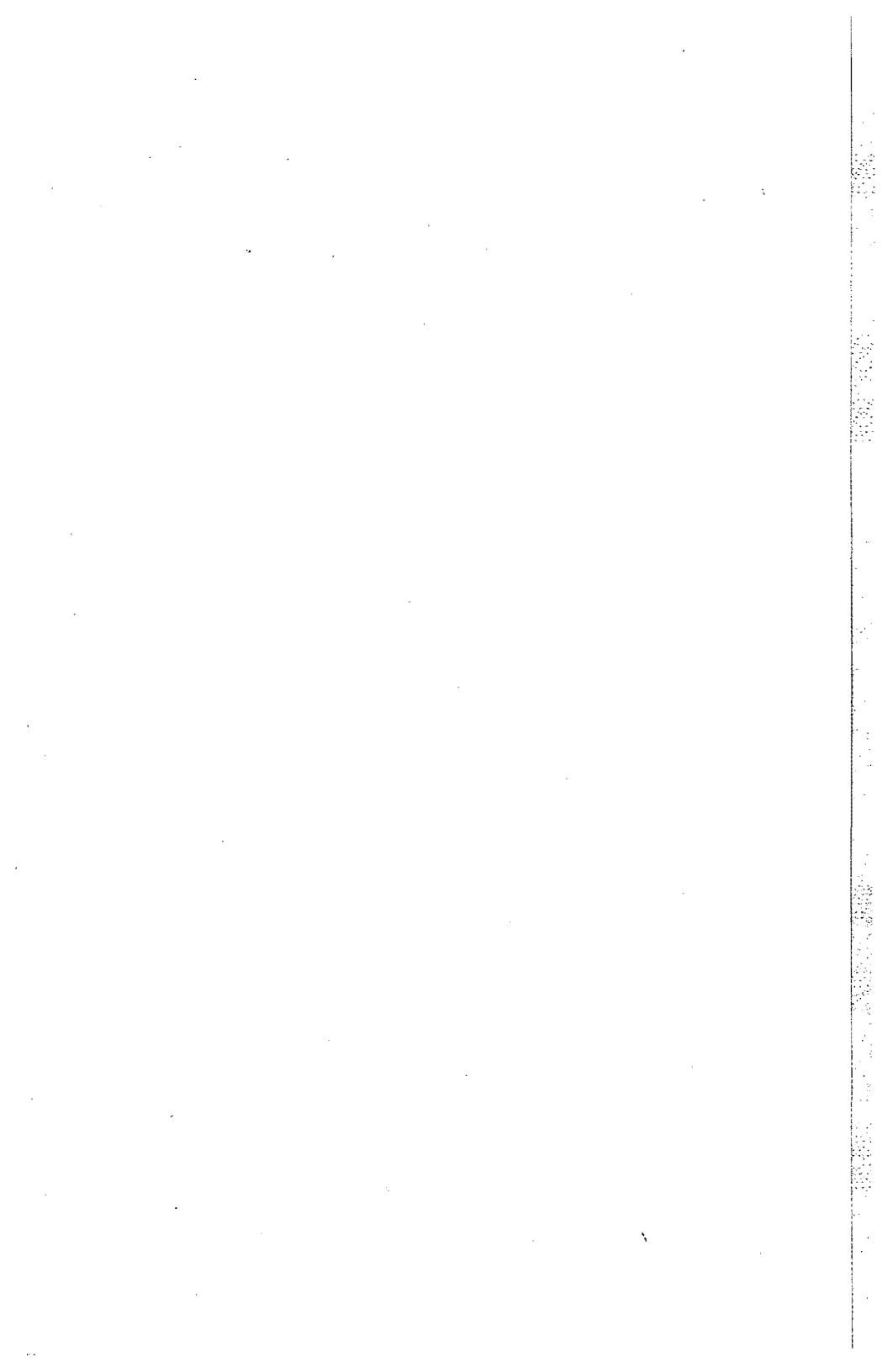
I have no words to appreciate the endless efforts of Bhupinder Singh Purewal and T.P.Singh of Punjabi Theatre Academy U.K. who gave me the whole hearted support and guidance.

I take the full responsibility about what ever has been written and described about Dalip Singh Alahabadi.

I regret with apologies that I forgot names of many British Officers of that time and also the exact dates of various events being told by Dalip Singh Alahabadi.

KULWANT SINGH KOONER

52/ Grasmere Crescent,
Sinfin -DERBY (U.K.)



1

A Greatman Beyond Criticism

75 years ago a bomb blast occurred in the central hall of national assembly New Delhi on 8th April 1929, the echo of that bomb blast, still vibrates in the ears of many Indian who have a dream for "revolution" and those are active in political and historical circle in India

According to the text of statement of Bhagat Singh and Battu Keshwar Dutt, which was given on June 6, 1929 in the bomb-trial court "revolution" means the ultimate establishment of an order of society in which the sovereignty of the proletariat should be recognized and a world federation should redeem humanity from the bondage of capitalism and misery of Imperial Wars——". This spirit of revolution motivates the down traders and frightened the Capitalist and Imperialist.

That bomb was thrown by Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt "to make the deaf hear and to give the headless a timely warning" After throwing the bomb both Bhagat Singh and Dutt offered themselves to Police arrest, as was planned by the Central Committee of Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association being headed by Chander Shekhar Azad.

It was a bold and politically motivated step to propagate one's philosophy on Socialism. Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt succeeded in achieving their target through a good use of opportunity being given during judicial trial from May 7, 1929 to June 6, at Delhi. 1929. At

the initial stage of trial the British-Indian Police and few English Officers smelled the motto of Bhagat Singh. The policy maker of the Viceroy of India at that time took Bhagat Singh as a very dangerous young man, that is why they had tried their best to convince the judge of trial court that the throwing of bomb was aimed to kill the leader of the house so Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt must be tried under section I.P.Cr.307, i.e. attempt to murder. Defense lawyer succeeds otherwise, and judge gave his verdict under section 120-B.

Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt were sentenced to transportation for life on June 12, 1929 and both were sent to Multan jail and Lahore jail on 13th June 1929 by train. According to different files of Home Department of India related with J.P.Saundres Murder Case of Lahore, the Punjab Police and C.I.D. of Punjab Govt. was unable to trace the killer up to May 1929. Even the Police could not name the culprits. Only "Mr. M" was named as a suspected killer of Johan Poyantz Saundres. The Police was haunting in the dark but it was Browning Pistol No.168096 that led the Police and C.I.D. to make a solid case against Bhagat Singh under Section I.P.Cr. 302 and ultimately the British Ruler of India were successful in eliminating Bhagat Singh; *a brilliant young man who put up a new model of Indian Revolution.*

Although Marxism and Socialism was propagated well before the emergence of Bhagat Singh on Indian political stage by C.P.I. [Communist Party of India], which was established in 1924 at Kanpur. More over Meerut Conspiracy Case was started against 34 leading communist leaders of India. But those leaders were putting a model of Revolution based on Russian Revolution. But it was Bhagat Singh who gave a new look to H.R.A. [The Hindustan Republic Association] and set a new goal and named it as Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association, that is why the Imperialist Ruler of India took every illegal step in the name of legal procedure of Courts to nip in the bud, the young Bhagat Singh.

If someone goes through the book "The Trial of Bhagat Singh" by A.G.Noorani, the conspiracy behind the Lahore Conspiracy Case can be smelled. But if someone thinks upon an Ex-Spy of British Indian Intelligence, Mr. Dalip Singh Alahabadi, who narrated various, points to Mr. Kulwant Singh Kooner of Derby, U.K. that was written by

Kooner as rough notes. The whole story started from J.P.Saunders murder to the execution of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev on March 23, 1931 has to be researched and rewritten, if we accept Dalip's versions.

Before telling about the hidden truth through the eyes of Dalip Singh let us go to the story of Pistol No.168096 which was claimed to be taken into possession by the Delhi Police from Bhagat Singh at the time of their arrest from the balcony of Central Hall of the Assembly, New Delhi on 8th April, 1929 after the throwing of bomb.

The act was well planned and executed, Bhagat Singh himself put up this idea at the meeting of HSRA at Agra in early March 1929. It was decided that two persons namely Ram Saran Dass and Battu Keshawer Dutt were selected to complete the action. Bhagat Singh tried his best to convince the Commander-in-chief Mr. Chander Shekher Azad that he himself is the best suitable person to give statements and arguments in favor of the aims and objects of HSRA. But Azad did not agree, as he did not want to loose a sharp-minded leader of the organization for a small purpose.

Again in late March 1929 another meeting of central committee of Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association was held at Agra in which Sukhdev, Chief organizer of HSRA in Punjab, strongly argued for Bhagat Singh name to be included in the action team. According to Mr. Shiv Ram Verma, a companion of Bhagat Singh and Co-excused in Lahore Conspiracy Case describe in detail how Sukhdev had convinced Bhagat Singh to do the job. Many more writers also told the same story that Sukhdev blamed Bhagat Singh that he had forgotten all his aims and ideas for a lady whom he loved very much. For this reason most of the people blame Sukhdev for the early death of Bhagat Singh. It was totally wrong. If we go through various Newspapers of that period, HSRA got more attention and publicity politically after Assembly Bomb than it got after the murder of J.P. Saunders. But that did not happen after Saunders murder.

The murder of John Poyantz Saunders was planned to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. It was an act of misidentity. Actually Bhagat Singh, Rajguru went to Police Kotwali [Headquarter] Lahore to kill James Alaxander Scott then Superintendent of Police at Lahore. But Saunders appeared on the scene instead of Scott and Rajguru fired a

bullet from his gun although Bhagat Singh had cautioned him that the person at target was other than Scott. Rajguru did not want to waste the opportunity to kill an Englishman so he completed the job. Both fled from the scene and escaped. The Police of Lahore haunted for the killers but in vain. Police never succeed, in arresting Bhagat Singh and Rajguru if the Pistol No. 168096 did not appear on the stage.

Before unfolding the truth behind the execution of Bhagat Singh revealed by Dalip Singh, it is necessary to have a look at the situation being revealed after the formation of HSRA at Ferozshah Kotla maidan at Delhi on 8th Sept. 1928, or before.

First of all about the meeting itself. The meeting was organized under the banner of Hindustan Republic Association which was very active at that time in United Province [U.P] now known as Uttar Pradesh; various revolutionary organizations were working individually in Bengal, Bihar, Orrisa, Punjab, Rajisthan and Madhya Pradesh [Central Province] at that time. There was no co-ordination among them. It was Bhagat Singh who felt that if the enemy was one and the same why should we remain divided. So at least 60 delegates attended that meeting along with five women activists.

It was here that a new cell called the Hindustan Republican Army was created and Chander Shekhar Azad was appointed its Commander-in chief. Azad did not attend the meeting. But his consent was taken. Why he was appointed the Chief? These are the doubts, which were neither answered by any historian nor by the Comrades of Azad & Bhagat Singh. Sukhdev was appointed as the chief organizer of HSRA in Punjab and Bhagat Singh was assigned the duty of Co-coordinators among all the units along with Bijoy Kumar Sinha. In that meeting, Bhagat Singh was present in a dress with turban on head, turnout coat of brown colors and beard on the face at the age of 21. He was the only SIKH [outwardly]. Till then he was an active member and founder member of Naujawan Bharat Sabha and his activities were noted down by the C.I.D. of Punjab Police, especially after his first police arrest on 27 May.1927 in a false case named "Dushera Bomb Case".

During the investigation of that case a photograph was taken by the C.I.D. police in which Bhagat Singh was sitting on a wooden cot,

and was being interrogated by D.S.P. C.I.D. Sardar Gurbachan Singh of Naushera Pannuan (Amritsar District). He has a hair knot [jura] on his head and full-blown beard on his face. So Police recognized Bhagat Singh as a Sikh. After Delhi meeting it was necessary to hide that identity to deceive police eyes. It was decided by the few members of Punjab Unit of HRA to convince Bhagat Singh to cut his hair and beard. That was performed on 15-16 Sept. 1928 at Ferozpur City in the clinic of Dr. Vijay Kumar Sinha alias Dr. Gaya Parsad who himself was an active revolutionary. Jai Gopal, the policy approver later on, was also presented at that time.

Bhagat Singh then worked openly for Naujawan Bharat Sabha and Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association in Lahore before the arrival of infamous Simon Commission at Lahore. That is why the police record of that time did not have any report about Bhagat Singh after the formation of HSRA. While Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Yashpal, Hansraj Vohra, Varinder, Hans Raj Sethi and Kedar Nath Sehgal etc. were prominently reported as activists of HSRA and Naujwan Bharat Sabha in Punjab.

Although Bhagat Singh took front role in organising of the procession of youth under the banner of Lahore Student Union on the eve of arrival of Simon Commission on 30th Oct. 1928. The large crowd of congress activists and other pro-independent people were lathi charged mercilessly by police on the order of then Superintendent of police Mr. J.A. Scott. Lala Lajpat Rai was seriously injured with lathi blows and ultimately succumbed to his injuries. Although Lala was very old and had an ill health at that time but the lathi charge was proved to be the cause of death of Lion of Punjab on 17th Nov. 1928.

The death of Lala was taken as an insult to the national pride at that time. Every one had anger in his heart especially in the hearts of youth, How to avenge this insult, was a big question?

Same question was also discussed on national level; According to Dalip Singh Allahabadi, Pt Moti Lal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malviya sent a message through their old guard Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi of Kanpur to contact Pandit Chander Shekhar Azad. They all discussed the percussion of Lala Lajpat Rai's death. Although

many differences cropped up in between Moti Lal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malviya and Lajpat Rai on the issue of Hindu Maha Sabha aims & objects, but, both Nehru & Malviya desired to use the atmosphere politically. Even Azad also wanted a big action, as there was no revolutionary or extremist act after the hanging of four companions of Azad. Pandit Ram Parsad Bismal the founder member of HRA, Rajinder Singh Lehri, Ashafakula and Khudi Ram Bose. They all were hanged with in four days from 16th Dec 1927 to 19th Dec 1927. at different jails in India, on account of famous Kakori Train looting Case.

The dacoity of Government Treasury took place at Kakori Railway Station on 22nd August 1925. Except Chander Shekhar Azad all others were arrested and charged with different judgments. The loss of Pt. Ram Parsad Bismal was not forgotten by Azad, so he readily accepted the proposal being put up by Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi, Secondly, as claimed by Dalip Singh, Azad did not agree fully with the ways the Punjab Revolutionaries were followed. Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev believed preparing the people for socialism through articles in Newspapers and schooling through literature and demonstration, where as Azad believed in violent action.

Chander Shekhar Azad, the Commander-in chief of HRA came to Punjab along with Rajguru who was famous for the accuracy of his gun target. A meeting of Punjab Unit of HSRA was held on 10th December 1928 at Mozang House, Lahore, in which full discussion was held on the ways of avenging the death of Lajpat Rai in the best traditions of "BLOOD FOR BLOOD". There was a difference of opinion. Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev did not want to kill a human being on that pretext and secondly they both were aware that after the killing they could not work for preparing the people for socialism as they had planned.

The other opinion was to kill Mr. J.A.Scott in daylight so that the fear of British Police could be thrown out from the hearts of people. And when some one pointed out that Punjabis are afraid of doing a daring act, Bhagat Singh angrily differed to the point and put up his name for the action. Azad assured full help and co-operation from national leaders of Indian National Congress and if there shall be arrest of any one Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Pt. Jawaharlal shall fight the

court case as a Barrister.

So the meeting came to an end with the proposal of date of action as 17th Dec. 1928 exactly one year after the hanging of Ram Parsad Bismal. Azad accepted the name of Bhagat Singh to hit the target. Rajguru was assigned the job to give cover to Bhagat Singh and also to shoot the target if it escaped from Bhagat Singh. If the police pursued them, Azad himself, will cover both Rajguru and Bhagat Singh during the retreat. Sukhdev has to arrange the route map of police Kotwali and a safer place for hiding after the action. Jai Gopal was deputed as a signalman. His duties were to follow J.A.Scott daily from his residence to office and from office to residence and note down his movements. After four days on 15 December a full rehearsal was held on the fixed spot.

Mean while on 16th December a public meeting of Naujawan Bharat Sabha was held in Bradley hall at Lahore to celebrate the days of martyrdom of Kakori case and to pay tribute to Kartar Singh Sarabha the youngest martyr of Indian Independence. On 17th morning Jai Gopal reported at 10 a.m. that J.A.Scott has left for his office. So at 4 p.m. was fixed the time for final action when Scott was supposed to leave his office.

According to the account being given by Dalip Singh Alahabadi to Kulwant Singh Kooner that Secret reports were received by D.I.B at Delhi [Directorate of Intelligence Bureau] that some old revolutionary of U.P. planned an action to kill an English policeman to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. Scott was informed accordingly, that is why he changed his daily movements secretly.

On the other hand C.I.D. want to nab the culprits if any thing happened, as was reported Scott laid a trap quietly and deputed a new and young officer J.P. Saunders to attend and look after the office in his absence. That is why Saunders appeared on the scene instead of Scott. According to Dalip Singh J.P. Saunders was, would be bridegroom of daughter of an English officer P.A. [Personnel Assistant] to the Secretary of State Govt. of Punjab. What role had P.A. played in the execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev is another story.

Well before 4 p.m... Everybody stood on his duty. Jai Gopal was

sitting near the gate with his bicycle presumed to be broken, ready for signal. At about 4.20 p.m. J.P. Saunders came out from the office. Jai Gopal mistook him as Scott and gave a signal to Bhagat Singh who moved towards the officer but readily recognized that the officer was not the Scott. Bhagat Singh saw Scott very well on the day of lathi charge. So he went back to Chander Shekhar Azad to clarify the situation and act accordingly, more over he did not want to kill an innocent man.

During their (Azad-Bhagat) conversation for few seconds to decide what should be the action. Rajguru thought otherwise; he did not want to miss an opportunity to hit the target and prove his creditability, he immediately ran towards the officer who was just start to move on Motor Cycle and fired a shot on the forehead of Saunders. Bhagat Singh heard the shot and ran up to dead officer and poured 4-5 shots from his pistol as he thought that it was his duty to kill the officer and his comrade might think him as coward.

If we go through the sketches being written by Shiv Kumar Verma about Raj Guru and Bhagat Singh every thing shall be cleared about, how both were eager to do the action every time when ever the situation arose.

And this race among themselves ran up to last movement of hanging. Same psychology prevailed in the mind of the Raj Guru, when he learned about the trial of Bhagat Singh has started under Section I.P.C.302 for murdering Saunders in July 1929. Till that time no one knew about second killer. Raj Guru did not want to hide and lose the credit as hero. So he himself offered to police at Poona in September 1929.

After killing Saunders, Bhagat Singh and Rajguru ran into D.A.V. College Campus. A head constable of police Chanan Singh was after them. He was stopped by Azad himself and cautioned him to desist from chasing the young men, but Chanan Singh did not heed the warning and was ultimately shot dead by Azad's bullets. After that three escaped on bicycle safely and assembled at the fixed point.

The police was haunting the killer in every nook and corner of Lahore city but in vain, the version being given by the eyewitnesses about the identity of the culprits did not match with any known hard-

core criminals nor resembled with other political history sheeters. Accordingly to the eye witnesses including Mr. Phern a traffic control inspector and others who testified in the trial case of Lahore Conspiracy-II case, one man who was running after shooting 4-5 shots, was very tall about six feet and having an English hat, a brown long coat with trouser and Black Derby's shoes. He was Bhagat Singh and about Raj Guru Witnesses described as follows, 'he wears a black Parsi Cap, Black short coat and Dhoti and sleeper in the feet'.

Thus it is very clear fact that Bhagat Singh had changed his body outlook well before the murder of Saunders and it is wrong that he cut his hairs and beard after the killing, secondly, when police was after him how he could take the risk to be shaved and dressed up freshly.

Further more Sohan Singh Josh's version about his meeting with Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev on that very night of December 17 is as follow.

"On the same night (17 December) a little after 11 P.M. some body knocked at my door in Bara Ghara, Islamabad. I was alone in the house, my family having gone to my village Chetanpura (Amritsar Distt.). I opened my door and to my utter surprise I found Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev standing outside along with bicycle.

I welcomed them but told them that it was rather risky to have come to my house because the police might raid at any time. But Bhagat Singh said, Don't worry, we have made all arrangements. Give us something to eat". They came in and said, "We are hungry"; I could offer two chapattis, some vegetable and a glass of milk. I told them we could cook fresh food. But they said, nothing doing, we shall take this and sleep" Bhagat Singh wearing a felt hat and an English style suit. Bhagat Singh took off his hat and placed it on a table nearby. He hung his pistol on a peg above the cot. —

Above narration and trial court proceeding clearly shows that Bhagat Singh wore an English dress before the killing of Saunders and it is wrong notion that he cut down his hair after 17th December, as shown in all the Hindi Movies on Shaheed Bhagat Singh.

Various reports of C.I.D. and Punjab police being sent by Govt of Punjab, to the Home Department of Govt. of British-India at Delhi

and to Secretary of state for India in London, clearly showed the progress of investigation in Saunders murder Case. According to various files (LPJ/12/377, S&G 58, 89-1928, P&J (S) 49 etc) police could not identify the killer up to April 6 1929. Only one man 'M' was claimed to be involve in the action. Who was Mr. 'M' and his identity reports did not say any thing. Only during the trial of case Mr. 'M' was declared as Rajguru, a Maratha from Distt. Poona.

On 18th & 19th December 1928 at least 16 persons were arrested on suspicion of involvement in that murder. The names of these 16 persons were; 1. Dr. Dharam Veer 2. Hans Raj Vohra 3. Dhanwantri 4. Kedar Nath Sehgal 5. Sant Ram Pandha 6. Raj Kishore 7. Mulla Abdul Mazid 8. Mansoor Ahmad Khan. 9. Varinder (Later on he became the proprietor and Editor of "PARTAP" Jalandhar) 10. Hans Raj Sethi 11. Ahmad Din 12. Satya Varat 13. Mir Mohmad Affjal 14. Labhu Ram Partap 15. Amolak Ram and 16. Keshav Bhandu.

All the above persons were attached with Naujwan Bharat Sabha founded by Bhagat Singh in 1926 and Lahore Students Union and worker of Kirti Party. Sohan Singh Josh the committed communist and editor of a monthly magazine named "KIRTI", and also organized the Kirti Party in Punjab saw the brilliance of young Bhagat Singh and appointed him on the Editorial board of KIRTI where Bhagat Singh wrote many articles on the life of revolutionaries and various Independence struggles in India and abroad. Due to the views being written in those articles, differences were cropped up between Josh and Bhagat Singh, thus Bhagat Singh left the "KIRTI" and again joined the hardcore cadre of Hindustan Republic Army in 1928.

The police was working on the theory that those 16 persons were actively worked for the joint meeting that was held on 16th December 1928 to celebrate the martyr day of Kakori comrades. Nothing could be achieved from that arrest and ultimately all of them were released on bail by 29th December due to lack of evidences. During that period Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Azad with the active & bold support of Durga Bhabhi escaped from Lahore safely on a train. While Azad went to Jhansi (M.P.), Rajguru to Poona and Durga Bhabhi, her son Sachin and Bhagat Singh reached Calcutta on 22nd Dec. 1928. The brain behind the evolution of Naujawan Bharat Sabha the husband of Durga Bhabhi and Mr. Bhagwati Charan Vohra was already in

Calcutta to attend the proposed meeting to create a new joint working body of peasants and worker's party

Here a question arises, when a person had already committed a crime and police was after it, what were the compulsions of that person or organisation to commit another action (Assembly Bomb) and offered himself for the arrest. Was any different purpose to be achieved? If any, could it be achieved through any other means? The answers to these questions made the difference between the approach and the achievements of two leaders namely Chander Shekhar Azad and Bhagat Singh.

Former was senior, bold and dare devil while the later was junior in the field and obedient worker of the organization. Azad believed in action and Bhagat Singh believe in achievement. Azad was influenced by old revolutionaries of U.P. esp. Ram Parsad Bismal, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Sachinder Sanyal, thus he thought and worked accordingly. While Bhagat Singh influenced by the revolutionaries of Ireland, France Russian and his Indian idol were Guru Gobind Singh (10th GURU OF SIKH), Shiva Ji (Marhatta) and of course young gadharites Kartar Singh Sarabha.

The killing of an English Officer to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai was the brainwork of Azad. Bhagat Singh only obeyed the order of his Commander-in-Chief and after finishing the job they all were thinking accordingly. To understand this let us go to the story of Sohan Singh Josh when Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev came to his house on 17th December night.

After finishing the meal, the first question he (Bhagat Singh) shot at me (Josh) was," What is the reaction in general to Saunders murder?"

"The youth are happy", I replied. But they would have been much happier if Scott had been killed"

Bhagat Singh— We had gone there only for him but the other devil came out, — and we could not go empty handed after all the pains taken for the preparation.

And then he added,"Any way, some beginning has been made"

There is another opinion also about this murder, I put in, and that is of Gandhi's followers.

We (Bhagat Singh) knew it before hand he said," We discussed this before deciding. Upon the action" [a hint towards the point raised by Dalip Singh Alahabadi that Pt. Nehru was attached with the planning, Author]

Then he contemptuously added "Gandhi stabbed the nation in the back by withdrawing the non-co-operation movement (1921-22) after the Chaura-Chori incident. The people are still under the cloud of frustration and demoralization which brought to this country".

— (Dalip Singh Allahabadi also revealed the truth behind Chaura-Chori happening, which would be discussed in another writing of Kulwant Singh Kooner,"IK PAL SHANTI")

But leave that aside; he continued "Do you know what has been the effect of Saunders murder on British Rulers?"

"I (Josh) do not know, it is too early to know that."

"There is a great panic among them," Bhagat Singh said," Some of them have already booked their wives and children passages for England. They are terribly frightened."

"But this panic is temporary. It will wear off soon" Josh replied.

"What do you think of this action?" (Sohan Singh) I repeated what I had been saying," To this Bhagat Singh said, "I do not agree. This action will raise the masses and strengthen the movement".

During this whole talk Sukhdev did not utter a single word.
(Why? What were his views? Are the points to be discussed—authors)

There were only two cots in the house. Sukhdev slept on one. Bhagat Singh and I shared the bigger one. A little before four they woke up in the morning to go.

According to Sohan Singh Josh he told them that he was going to Calcutta in the morning by train to take part in the first Joint Meeting of All India Peasant and Worker Party (This point may lead to Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev to make the planning to go to Calcutta—authors).

If we analyses the above dialogues and public reaction after the murder of Saunders, there was no panic among the British as perceived by HSRA nor there was any celebration among the Indian.

Only few comments came from Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Madan Mohan Malviya, other national leaders said nothing about the action. Even Bhagat Singh did not hear any thing about their action neither in the circle of Bengali Revolutionary, nor in the annual session of All India Congress Committee at Calcutta.

Bhagat Singh stayed at Calcutta for 2-3 weeks in December 1928-January 1929 and met many Bengali Revolutionary and discussed in detail about the future planning. He might be disheartened to know that no one had appreciated his job. That made him to think otherwise and to chalk out the next action of Bomb throwing in the National Assembly. The idea was taken from the history of French Revolution, when an anarchist revolutionary leader of France Villaint throws a bomb in assembly chamber to "Make the deaf hear".

Similarly when Chander Shekhar Azad had thought the aftermath of 17th December action he realized the futility of that action. He might be repenting on his planning which put his precious, brilliant comrade and a dear friend Bhagat Singh into great danger of execution when police would arrest him. That is why when Bhagat Singh returned from Calcutta in late January along with Jatindass & Phonirder Ghosh (Both expert in bomb making) and HSRA reassembled at Heing Mandi, Agra, the Commander-in-Chief readily agreed on the future planning of bomb throwing but disagreed with the suggestion that Bhagat Singh would lead the action.

Azad did not want to loose Bhagat Singh by putting him into the hand of British Police. He recommended the names of Ram Saran Dass an old time Gadhariests and consisted of Lahore Conspiracy Case -Battu Keshwar Dutt, and I, who was, accept by the Central Committee of Hindustan Socialist Republic Association. Sukhdev was not present in that meeting.

When Sukhdev met Bhagat Singh and came to know about the next action he did not agree with the idea. Both friends had discussed in detail about the idea and finally Sukhdev succeeded in persuading Bhagat Singh to call a fresh Meeting of Central Committee. In doing so, Sukhdev went to the extreme extent of blaming a close friend to ran away from death on account of Lady's love. Bhagat Singh rebuffed that he blamed him wrongly. Sukhdev replied" I am only

cautioning a dear friend towards his duty.”

What a climax, on one hand a friend (Sukhdev) was sending Bhagat Singh to death while another friend (Azad) was trying to save him from the hands of destiny. How long? At last logic and sense of duty prevailed upon the emotions and names were changed for the job. Thus Sukhdev has provided a chance for Bhagat Singh to become a true MARTYR.

Now it was the duty of Bhagat Singh to throw the bomb, to offer for police arrest and finally to defend themselves in light of their ideology of Socialism & Revolution. What happened on 8th April 1929 is a clear-cut history and every thing has gone accordingly but *Bhagat Singh committed one great blunder. None had discussed about that blunder. Neither by any historian, nor by the revolutionaries,*

Only the top official of British intelligence and few Indian agents of that circle discussed in detail about that blunder. There was a hot discussion on the point *“Why Bhagat Singh took his Pistol No.168096 with him, when it was clear not to harm any body and offered for police arrest without any protest?”*

That mistake of Bhagat Singh opened a ray of light for C.I.D., which was working in dark on the murder of Saunders since 17th December 1928. According to Dalip Singh Alahabadi version was “GORA LOG BOHAT KHUSH THAI”. English officers were very happy and discussed in detail how to make best use of that pistol to trap Bhagat Singh in the noose. There was a great pressure from few English Officers working at Lahore at that time. The investigating team of C.I.D. and police being led by (Aziz Ahemand) Khan recommended that a special expert in guns and explosive could be called from London.

A file pertaining to the formation and working of Intelligence Bureau in India clearly hints about that point. The report claimed that it has got success in pinpointing the relation between the shell of the gun fire found from the murder site and the Pistol No, 168096; further more report said that goldsmith named Robert Churchill was specially called from London, to made use of such expert for the first time.

Thus to take Pistol No. 168096 with him (Bhagat Singh) proved fatal and suicidal move and was a great blunder. If Bhagat

Singh did not take his pistol with him on 8th April 1929 the police never succeeded, in proving him a murderer.

If we want to learn from the history then we have to analyze the pro and cons of every action of our old hero's. To shut the eyes from the mistake of our beloved IKON proved to be another mistake, Our intention is not to defame the Hero's but to caution the coming generation not to commit the same mistake.

If we compare the two actions, one on 17th December 1928 and second of 8th April 1929, there were two apparent shades of one person namely Bhagat Singh, one who killed a man and second who spared the human lives from bomb. If we believe Dalip Singh Allahabadi version, Bhagat Singh was not involved in murder of Saunders. And if he was involved in direct killing what were his compulsions and under what circumstances he chose a path against his belief.

Accordingly to text of statement of Bhagat Singh being read in the court on 6th June, 1929 by Mr. Asaf Ali, Bhagat Singh said, "We are next to none in our love for humanity, far from having any malice against any individual, we hold human life sacred beyond words". It further state that, "we are neither perpetrators of dastardly outrages, and therefore, a disgrace to the country, as the pseudo-socialist Dewan Chaman Lal is reported to have described us, nor are we "LUNATICS" as the Tribune of Lahore and some others would have believed it."

"We bore no personal grudge or malice against anyone of those who received slight injuries or against any other person in the Assembly. On the contrary, we repeat that we hold human life sacred beyond words, and would sooner lay down our own lives in the service of humanity than injure anyone else. Unlike the mercenary soldiers of the imperialist armies who are disciplined to kill without compunction, we respect, and, in so far as it lies in our power, we attempt to save human life"—————

Although Asaf Ali read the above text but it was prepared and drafted by Bhagat Singh himself and Mr. Asaf Ali only polished the language. About this truth Mr. Asaf Ali claimed in an article being published on March 23, 1949 in a Journal "Common Weal" published from Poona.

So when a man has had such a great value for human life how he could prepare himself for killing a man. Has Bhagat Singh changed his mind after 17th December 1928, killing or he was telling a lie in his statement? No, not at all, he was telling the truth and he has a great respect for human life.

What Dalip Singh Alahabadi has told to Mr., Kulwant Singh Kooner is worthwhile to think upon that hidden truth and when we will go through other secrets being told by Allahabadi then one has to research the whole history about Bhagat Singh ERA.

Before unveiling the hidden truth I recalled, "Why I am an Atheist" being written by the Martyr himself on 4-5 October 1930, just two days before the pronouncement of judgment by the special tribunal. Bhagat Singh wrote, *"You go and oppose the prevailing faith, you go and criticize a hero, a great man who is generally believed to be above criticism because he is thought to be infallible, the strength of your argument shall force the multitude to decry you as vainglorious"*

Bhagat Singh is a great Hero for many Indians even after 75 years. His presence is being felt everywhere. In many Cities and Towns statue of Bhagat Singh are standing on important road crossing, various sports tournaments and cultural festivals are held in rural area in school and colleges. Bhagat Singh became a *legend*, a *hero*, a *great man above criticism* thus a story of "Hidden Truth" is put to test before the readers and critics.

"Any man who stands for progress has to criticize, disbelieve and challenge every item of the old faith. Item by item he has to reason out every nook and corner of the prevailing faith. If after considerable reasoning one is led to believe in any theory or philosophy his faith is welcomed. His reasoning can be mistaken, wrong, misled and some times fallacious. But he is liable to correction because reason is the guiding star of his life. But mere faith and blind faith is dangerous. It dulls the brain, and makes a man reactionary. A man who claims to be a realist has to challenge the whole of the ancient faith. If it does not stand to the onslaught of reason it crumbles down—"(Why I am an Atheist)

2

The Cross Agent

The most effected and lethal weapon with which "The British Empire" won and ruled Indian Continent was "Secret Services". The entire period from the arrival of East India Company in India till the division of India (15th August 1947) was governed by the use of secret missionaries. Before announcing any new policy the British took the help of these secret missionaries, and the information being given by these missionaries has a great value for the policy makers.

Initially these secret missionaries were Britisher but later on when they become popular in the local people due to their social work,, they chose their own faithful followers from local residence to get specific information about social economic, religious, political matters. Those sub-missionaries were rewarded even for their small information. Thus after the failure of first revolt by Indian Kings in 1857, the British Empire deputed many Indian people as its full fledge agents under local officers.

Ultimately it was observed that there must be a central body to collect and inter exchange and analyze the information, so the first Information Bureau was established in 1905-6 A.D. in Bombay presidency in British Ruled India. Later on Punjab and U.P. (United Province) government established their own secret service departments. By 1911-12 Central Intelligence Bureau was established under Home department of Govt. of India.

It was this department (D.I.B) in which Dalip Singh got recruitment at Varanasi the divisional headquarter of U.P. Intelligence Bureau. He was awarded a code name "Allahabadi" after five years, of service in U.P. According to Dalip Singh he was a son of a police constable (Name being forgotten by Kooner) who was killed by the revolutionaries (Réactionaries) of Hindustan Republic Association near Luknow, while the U.P. police was haunting for the culprits of Kakori Rail Dacoit in 1925. During an encounter Dalip Singh's father was killed.

Dalip Singh, 20 years old at that time was offered a job in police department. Dalip Singh was matriculate at that time and had a fluent knowledge of English, Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit. He was very intelligent and after initial training he was assigned the duty of translation of various reports of local agents and officers, from Hindi-Urdu to English. The British officer appreciated his ability and suggested him to join the secret services.

So he becomes a secret agent and his duty was to follow Nehru's family at Allah bad. Incidentally he came close to the family of Lal Bahadur Shastri (2nd Prime Minister of India) at Varanasi. His cousin sister (Daughter of maternal uncle—Mamma) was married in the same village from where the ancestor of Lal Bahadur Shastri belongs. The Shastri family gave respect to Dalip's relative.

To do the job efficiently he got a job in Anand Bhawan as a gardener with the help of Shastri's family and he remained in side Anand Bhawan for 2-3 years. The secret reports being sent by Allahabadi about Nehru's family enable British authorities to have a check on Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and his son Pt. Jawaharlal Lal Nehru. When ever Nehru's were succeeding in making a pressure politically on British Government of India, the cunning English men used those secret reports to blackmail both father and son.

Before, Pandit Jawaharlal Lal Nehru came to know about the reality of Dalip Singh Allahabadi, Dalip left the job of gardener and came back to Headquarter of U.P. Intelligence Bureau at Lucknow. It was in 1928 when the infamous Simon Commission came to India and was facing the boycott protest everywhere. When Simmon came to Lucknow ON November 30, Pt. Jawaharlal Lal Nehru led the protest.

When Nehru came in direct confrontation with Simmon, Dalip Singh could not control his temper and duty consciousness. He interfered directly and slapped Pandit Jawaharlal Lal Nehru.

Dalip Singh confessed to his (Adopted son) Kulwant Singh Kooner that due to the death of his father, he was deadly against all those people who were fighting against the British and he hated revolutionaries, reactionaries and Congress men equally, The Lucknow incident was the result of that hatred feeling. After that Dalip Singh did not go to Anand Bhawan but till then he got definite clues about the relation of the Hindustan Republic Association's (HRA) with Nehru's family, socialist activists of united province being led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi the famous owner and Editor of "PARTAP" a news paper being published from Cownpur (KANPUR)

According to Dalip Singh Allahabadi, Mr. Chander Shekhar Azad frequently visited Nehru family at Allahabad. Both Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya donated money generously through Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Pt. Chander Shekhar Azad, for the action of HRA, which was established, by Pandit Ram Parsad Bismal and Yogesh Chander Chatterji under the leadership of Sachindra Nath Sanyal in September 1923.

Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi was the same person who gave a job to Bhagat Singh in 1923 in his printing press, when Bhagat Singh had decided to leave his home and family forever to serve the Bharat Mata (Nation), Vidhyarthi was a close relative and a good friend of Professor Jaya Chand Vidyalkar of National College of Lahore, who baptized Bhagat Singh for revolutionaries activities. It was Vidyalkar whose period of History thrilled Bhagat Singh and Vidyalkar became Bhagat Singh political Guru and he introduced him with revolutionaries of Aligarh, Agra and Kanpur.

It was at Kanpur, Bhagat Singh came into direct contact with Battu Keshawar Dutt who was also working in the same "PARTAP" printing press and both became friends ideologically

Dalip Singh Alahabadi who in his later life joined Arya Samaj movement of U. P., in 1946 and became a saint to hide his real identity of an agent of secret service to save himself from the clutches of

British police. How and why he became a saint is another story.

Dalip Singh told Kooner that he was astonished to know that the Hindustani Republic Association (HRA) was a youth wing of Arya Samaj Movement. The truth was not known to the British intelligence. All the secret reports described Arya Samaj Movement as a religious reformist movement. But the brains behind that movement were too intelligent. Arya Samaj started various schools and colleges to prepare the young Indian for the political as well as religious awakening.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Prof. Jaya Chand Vidyalkar, Bhagwati Chand Vohra, Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh, Kishan Singh father of Bhagat Singh, Hans Raj Vohra, Yashpal, Varinder, Pt. Chander Shekhar Azad, Ram Parsad Bismal, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and many more belonged to committed Arya Samaj families. The Hindu organization and the Arya Samaj constituted by Hindu Maha Sabha accelerated their agitation for the protection of Hindu and the Hindu Nation. Lala Lajpat Rai and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya also gave a call for the protection of the Hindus. Swami Shardha Nand through his reform movement tried his utmost to reconnect the Muslims into Hindu Religion, who were at one time Hindu, but had embraced Islam due to several reasons. On 9th of August 1924 Dr. Saffuedin Kitchlew of Amritsar expressed his views elaborately against the Arya Samaj and the Hindus.

When Dalip Allahabadi conferred with Pt. Jawaharlal Lal Nehru at Lucknow Railway Station on the arrival of Simon Commission on November 30, a senior officer of I.B. from Bombay province Mr. Martin Luke Robertson appreciated Dalip Singh Allahabadi's boldness and offered him the job of secret agent in the special cell of Directorate of Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi where he himself (Robertson) was going to join the duty. Dalip readily accepted that offer and shifted to New Delhi.

At New Delhi, Dalip Singh won the heart of Mr. Robertson with his intellect and ability. He was deputed as personal Assistant to Martin Luke Robertson, who was very kind, hearted and had got the instinct of writing the fiction-tale. He was a good friend of Mr. Allen Cambell Johanson, a journalist of India and Britain. The wife of Mr. M.L. Robertson was working in the office of Mr. Johanson, where

Robertson and Johanson wrote their fictions. So he kept duplicate copies of various secret reports belonging to many British top officers and Indian congress leaders, to use them as a raw material for writing new stories and novels. Mr. Dalip Singh helped him in copying those reports; hence, he was able to get very personal and off-the-record reports easily.

The wing of the secret service, which was looked by M.L. Robertson, was responsible to collect the information about the British Officers secretly in order to control an officer who might become arrogant and more powerful than its seniors. To do his job Dalip remained most of the time, at the residential office of his boss.

Mr. Dalip Singh Alahabadi was a tall 6'-2" handsome with brown eyes and white complexion. He was about 27-28 years old young man. His charming personality impressed the young wife of Mr. Robertson ultimately, the Lady Robertson, Mrs. Margaret Robertson fell in love with Dalip Singh, who was unmarried at that time. He remained unmarried till his death in 1978, but never forgot his Love for Lady Margaret.

Due to that love affair Dalip Singh got in touch with the personal writings of Mr. Luke Robertson. From those writings he came to know about the hidden truth of "AMRITSAR MASSACRE-1919". All the history books are filled with details of what happened on 13th April 1919, during the celebration of BAISAKHI FESTIVAL at Jallianwala Bagh. They all told how thousand of innocent people were shot dead by the gun shot, being ordered by General Dyer. But not a single writer tried to point out; why it happened? What was the reason to show such a hatred feeling by General Dyer and Michael 'O' Dwyer, the then Lt. Governor of Punjab?

In his research work on Martyr Udham Singh of Sunam, Mr. Sikander Singh Head of the Department of History, Govt. Kirti College, Nial Patran (Distt. Patiala) gave very detailed description about the proceedings of Punjab Government before the Jallianwala Bagh happening. He described in the Chapter, "A premeditated Plan of Jallianwala Bagh" on page 123 as follow;

The foreigners have written much more than the Indian about the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh. What were the reasons and

circumstances under which the incident had taken place? The historian is working on various theories about it that of course is another story. It is hard fact that the said massacre was the result of the O'Dwyer policies and headstrongness. The Enquiry report of that very period detailed in length the circumstances leading to that massacre. The Hunter Commission Reports and Reports of Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of Indian National Congress both give the evidence of the people concerned with the said incident.

The Satyagraha Sabha formed under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi to decide to struggle against the black bills "The Rowlett Act" and gave call to observe complete Hartal (Strike) on March 30, 1919, but the date was postponed to April 6. Amritsar city observed the 6th April 1919 in a thorough manner. The Hindus, the Sikhs and the Mohammedans belonging to all grades observed complete Hartal. On the 9th April there was a Hindu festival "Ram Naumi Divas". But that was celebrated jointly by Hindu-Sikh and Mohammedan to show their unity. English rulers could not tolerate this Unity.

The people of Amritsar showed the same unity on 30th March, when a meeting was held in favor of Mahatma Gandhi's call. In that meeting accordingly to official accounts, about 30,000 to 35,000 persons were present. Sir Michael O'Dwyer ruffled by the Hartal and the meeting at Amritsar (ii)

Similarly on 8th April 1919, a Hindu Muslim Unity conference was held at Rewari, which was considered by the authorities to be, "the most sinister development of all" Lord Irwin immediately asked Mr. A.J.W. Kitchin, the commissioner of Lahore, for reinforcement of troops. The anti-British Unity of the three communities alarmed Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He termed the meeting as a conspiracy against the British and an attempt at waging war against the Crown. (iii)

And so on various incidents and reasons were put forward in all the reports of inquiries but no one knew what exactly happened which ignited a fire in the heart of Michael O'Dwyer to take such a drastic step that even his own government had to appoint Hunter Committee against him under pressure.

Before revealing the truth about that incident, it is worthwhile to look into that paragraph in which Mr. Sikander Singh smelled about that but could not get the details of that meeting. On page No. 133 he described, "They decided to crush the National feeling amongst the Indian with 'ONE CRUSHING BLOW' and that it was with this object in view that they planned the great massacre at Amritsar. Michael O'Dwyer, Lt. Governor of Punjab, and other top British bureaucrats formulated the nefarious Plan in the Government House, Lahore, both belonging to Civil and Military. Lieutenant Colonel Smith was also present in the meeting. *It seems that the meeting was unofficial conducted by the Michael O'Dwyer and the whole drama was unofficial and oral which was kept as top secret* However it fell to the lot of General Dyer to carry out the plan so that British might avenge their five British companions and teach the lesson to the Indian that revolution was a dangerous game".

Yes, according to Dalip Singh there was a *nefarious plan* being hatched by Michael O'Dwyer who was an Irishman? Dalip Singh narrated the whole dialogues, which were discussed in that meeting of Lahore. Michael O'Dwyer was hurt by the abuses being hurled on him and on his community the Irish, in a meeting held at New Delhi on 7th April 1919 under the chairmanship of Governor General of India Lord Chelmsford.

That meeting was organized to select "The Best governor" amongst all the Lt. Governors of various provinces under British India Rule. In that meeting Michael O'Dwyer put his case very strongly. He narrated in detail all his achievements and service being rendered by him to save the dignity of Crown.

"I have spoken so often about the war and the Punjab's share in it during the last year that I need say but little today. We started the war with 1, 00,000 men in the Army in 1917. Next year we raised over 1,27,000 and a year ago the total was over a quarter of a million—
—(i) Punjab's contribution in recruitment was about 60 percent, The Secretary of state admitted that many families were left without their bread winner—(ii)

After narrating the whole saga of his achievements since his appointment as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in December 1912,

he pleaded strongly to Lord Chelmsford to reward his services. But the secretary of state for India Lord Montague who was an Englishman, snubbed him and abused him that "How a rubbish of Irish could be honored? There are many Englishmen able to get this reward of Governors".

Accordingly to Dalip Singh, Michael O'Dwyer angrily ran towards Montague and slapped him in presence of Mr. Chelmsford. Mr. Chelmsford intervened and tried his best to pacify O'Dwyer. O'Dwyer said to the viceroy that although he is an Irish but he served the crown faithfully. But the secretary did not budge from his arguments and refused to apologise—(i).

Although Lord Chelmsford cooled down O'Dwyer with personal request and convinced him that he would recommend his (Dwyer) name to the crown for the reward. But O'Dwyer did not forget the insult. It hurt him very much. On returning to Lahore he was very sad. He did not attend his public life.

It was mentioned in the diaries of Luke Robertson that Michael O'Dwyer was a perverted personality. He was fond of sodomy. He had kept a young man (Enoch) in Lahore whom O'Dwyer called his Anarkali. He entertained O'Dwyer with his dance and satisfied sexual lust of O'Dwyer, whenever that officer came to him? On 8th and 9th April 1919 O'Dwyer became more depressed. On one hand he could not forget his insult and on the other hand the political atmosphere of Amritsar and incidents of 6th & 9th April, worsed his condition.

Dalip Singh told that the young man dancer ANARKALI asked O'Dwyer, "What is wrong with you my darling? How could I make you happy? Tell me," O'Dwyer told the whole story and asked Anarkali, "How could I avenge this insult?" He wanted to ruin the English EMPIRE.

Listening his master's tale of sorrow, the young Enoch replied, "If you are seriously thinking to destroy the Raj, then you have to do atrocities on innocent people of Amritsar City. That City is such a religious place, which has got the blessing of two saints, Sai Mian Meer a Muslim saint and other one Guru Arjan Dev. If any King ordered the destruction of that city, GOD would punish him, with the uprooting of his Kingdom. That city stands for the Unity and amity of

two religions. So, when you would do ZULIM (atrocities) on innocents, their cries would result into curse.

On hearing this story Michael O'Dwyer immediately called upon those officers of Lahore and Amritsar who were Irish and working in civil and military positions at his residence. He decided to kill two birds with one stone. On one hand he could satisfy his master that he had taught a lesson to the Punjabi who were protesting against Rowlett Act, thus tried to over throw the Crown. Secondly his hurt feelings would get a balm.

When he narrated the episode of 7th April of New Delhi, every one present in the unofficial meeting readily accepted the master plan. General Dyer was immediately called from Jalandhar Cantonment along with his loyal soldiers and he was powered with unlimited powers under Martial Laws.

What happened after that meeting became a black chapter of history as "The Massacre of Amritsar" But that massacre gave birth to two Hero's of Independence namely; Bhagat Singh and Udham Singh, one was only 11yrs, 7 months and 15 days old while the second Udham Singh was only 19yrs, 4 months and 15 days old at that time? Udham Singh was present on the spot and saw all the happenings on Baisakhi Day while Bhagat Singh visited the Jallian Wala Bagh a few days later on 20th April 1919. He came from Lahore by train. Both reacted to the situation differently while Udham Singh took the *oath of revenge* from General Dyer and Lt. Governor Michael O'Dwyer and pursued them for 21 years. And Bhagat Singh worked tirelessly to achieve his goal and sacrificed his life for the freedom of Bharat Mata just 12 years after that massacre.

Both were hanged by neck but at very different places. Bhagat Singh was hanged along with his two companions Raj Guru and Sukhdev on 23rd March 1931 at 7 P.M. Monday in Central Jail Lahore and Udham Singh was hanged on 31st July 1940 in Pentonville jail London. Both Heroes were in Mianwali jail for some time (I) where Udham Singh was undergoing a sentence of 5 years of rigorous imprisonment being awarded by A.D.M. Amritsar on 1.10.1927 in case at city Kotwali Amritsar Vide F.I.R. No.227 dated 30.8.1927. In the beginning he was in Multan Central Jail and then he was shifted

to Mianwali Jail in early 1929. Bhagat Singh, also, was sentenced to life imprisonment for 14 years in Central Assembly Bomb Case New Delhi on 12th June 1929 by the Session Court Judge Mr. Leonard Middleton and was sent to Mianwali jail where he reached on 14th June 1929.

Due to the commencement of trial of Lahore conspiracy Case along with the Saunders Murder Case at Lahore, Bhagat Singh wrote a letter to Inspector General Jails, Punjab to shift him to Lahore jail so that he could make his defense case easily. And thus he was shifted to Central Jail Lahore on 30th June 1929

Meanwhile Bhagat Singh had started hunger strike in Mianwali Jail on 15th June itself in favor of certain demands for the political prisoners. That was calculated move of Bhagat Singh and Battu Keshawara Dutt to prove to Gandhi that the revolutionaries also knew how to go through the rigors of fasting and the torture of approaching death. They could suffer the pangs of hunger, something that the followers of non-violence visibly demonstrated.

In Mianwali jail, there were many more political prisoners including old Gadharites, Babbar Akalies, being treated as criminals by the jail authorities, so when Bhagat Singh had started hunger strike they all joined him immediately Bhagat Singh popularity went up. Udham Singh alias Ude Singh was so much impressed by the ideology of Bhagat Singh, on that occasion, he considered him his "GURU" a teacher. And when Udham Singh got the news of hanging of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev, he was shocked and he gave up his food and water and remained silent for a few days. (1)

There was one thing more, which was common to both Bhagat Singh and Udham Singh "The Hans RAJ". As Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Murder Case and hanging by neck were common between the two, similarly two persons with same name had affected the life pattern of both. Hans Raj Vohra betrayed Bhagat Singh and his comrades and became police approver, which resulted into the execution of three young men.

According to Dalip Singh Allahabadi, it was noted in the diaries of Mr. Robertson that the Governor of Punjab took the service of another Hans Raj of Amritsar, agent of C.I.D to collect maximum

numbers of innocent people in Jallianwala Bagh on Baisakhi day in 1919 and later on he became chief approver in the Amritsar conspiracy Case.

Mr. Sikander Singh mentioned about Hans Raj as follows;

He was twenty-three years old and matriculates. He was a man of dubious character. He had been dismissed from service as a railway ticket collector in the North Western Railway. He served as a clerk in the Municipal Committee Amritsar. According to Gul-Mohammed, who appeared before the Congress sub-committee for evidence? Hans Raj was a man of loose character who lived on the earning of his mother and sister (i)

On 12th April, he held a meeting at the Hindu Sabha High School, Dhab Khatikan in the walled city of Amritsar and he announced that another meeting would be held on the 13th April in the Jallianwala Bagh, in the evening, under the Chairmanship of Lala Kanhya Lal. But Lala Kanhya Lal himself denies having ever been asked or having consented to preside at any such meeting. Actually Lala's name was used to draw large crowd. Hans Raj was the secretary of Satya Grah Sabha being formed by political leaders of Amritsar to protest against the Rowlett Act on 6th April on the call of Mahatma Gandhi

Look, how the agents of British intelligence entered in the political and social organizations of that time. As Dalip Singh implanted himself successfully in the Anand Bhawan, Hans Raj was implanted in Satya Grah Sabha. Actually Hans Raj had hired many young needy persons to bring maximum people to the site of massacre. Dalip Singh told Mr. Kooner that Udham Singh along with his other companion of orphans House, (Central Yateem Khana, Amritsar) was hired for Rupees One and a half each. Hans Raj suggested Udham Singh to install a Chhabeel (Drinking water stall) at the Jallianwala Bagh That was the reason that Udham Singh was present on the spot at the time of shooting.

The scene at the shooting place was horrible and that shocked Udham Singh. According to Dalip Singh, Udham Singh searched Hans Raj for many days and one day, at last he found Hans Raj at a lonely place where he was defecating. Udham Singh had a scuffle

with him and insisted upon his labor charges to be given, but Hans Raj replied that he would pay whenever he would get the payment from General Dyer. And to save his life from the anger of Udham Singh, Hans Raj told him the whole conspiracy of massacre that was hatched by O'Dwyer, General Dyer, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith, Mr. Kitchin the commissioner of the division and Major Mac Donald. Incidentally all those officers were Irish.

That was the reason that Udham Singh had gone to England to take the revenge of insult being inflicted by the British on Punjabis. General Dyer died natural death well before, the bullet of Udham Singh killed Sir Michael O'Dwyer on 13th March 1940 in the Caxton Hall, London.

Many more secrets were revealed by Dalip Singh to Kulwant Singh Kooner about other Indian Leaders and British Officers but in this book only those would be discussed which are related with our three Martyrs, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev. Before coming to those secret, false or true, it is necessary to describe the relationship between Dalip Singh Allahabadi and Kulwant Singh Kooner. But how a committed agent and faithful servant of White men (British) changed his loyalty and collected many secrets at the risk of his life. But he could not reveal in Public due to the fear of being eliminated by the Governments.

3

The Trap in Lahore

When Dalip Singh was working in New Delhi in year 1929, his boss sent him to Lahore to follow Pandit Jawaharlal Lal Nehru who was going there to attend the annual session of Indian National Congress from 25th Dec to 31st Dec 1929. Various reports poured in the office of Directorate Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi that Congress Party was going to declare "Total Independence" under the pressure of hardliner within the Congress and outside the Congress. There were, also, reports that Bhagat Singh and his comrades in Lahore Jail had made a plan with the help of absconding members of Hindustan Socialist Republic Association and Chander Shekhar Azad to organize big marches from Lahore, Bombay, Calcutta on 1st January 1930 to wards New Delhi to start war for "Total Independence."—SAMPORAN SAWARAJA

At Lahore, during his stay for 6-7 days Dalip Singh visited Central Jail Lahore, Bristol Jail of Lahore and in the Court of Special Tribunal which was setup for the trial of Lahore Conspiracy cases. At Lahore Dalip Singh came to know about the planning of a joint action by the Indian National Congress, Socialist Activators and the hardliner being led by Hindustan Socialistic Republic association. According to that action plan after declaring the "Total Independence" on 31st night big procession would proceed towards New Delhi from different places; Calcutta, Bombay, Bhopal, Ahemdabad and Lahore

on 1st January, 1930 and reach at New Delhi on 26th January. En route to New Delhi, leaders would motivate people for "Total Independence" and bring them all to ghero Viceroy at New Delhi to force the British to quit India.

But that move could not materialize on account of Bomb attack on Viceroy train on 23rd Dec 1929. Lord Irwin escaped unhurt but that incident pressurized Mahatma Gandhi to withdraw from the planned action. Instead of that only, Pt. Jawaharlal Lal Nehru announced a declaration at Lahore. Dalip Singh was present at that time in the uniform of congress volunteer. According to him he saw Chander Shekhar Azad with Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi in the same uniform.

Second time, Dalip Singh visited Lahore on 15-16th March 1931 to access the situation, which was created by some English officers to resign amass if the Viceroy would spare the life of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev *under the pressure* from Congressmen and the general public. Mr. Martin Luke Robertson smelled some conspiracy behind the threat. He immediately dispatched his team to Lahore.

So Dalip Singh Alahabadi visited Lahore, where he met another secret agent of his Delhi office name AFJAL Rahi alias Barkat Ali, and his duties were to look after the three convicted young men in the death cell. He was acting as a barber, as a sweeper (Jharu Master) in the cell No. 14, 15, and 16. He was deputed by the special branch of C.I.D. to win over the sympathy of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev, who were sentenced to death by the Special Tribunal and were supposed to be hanged on 27th October 1930 as per death warrant. But the execution could not be carried out, the reason being the secret planning of Lord Irwin and his advisors.

If we can recollect the records of those days from 7th Oct 1930 onward, the Britisher were under the great pressure Independence movement being carried on by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Thousand volunteers were in jails all over India. The Englishmen were in favor of weakening the strength of agitation. So they hatched a plan to use "the death sentence" of three as their old weapon of "Divide and Rule".

The political analysis of Congress Annual Session of Calcutta

1928-29 by the Directorate of Intelligence Bureau, there were three trends in Congress at that time, extreme Rightist, Centralist and extreme leftist. But none could survive independently, so it was their compulsion to work together. After the famous statement of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt in Delhi Bomb Case on 6th June 1929, the left element in the Congress got more teeth and Bhagat Singh became a hero of thousand Indians. He had used the print media very well to propagate his thoughts first in Delhi Case and then at Lahore during his trial.

So the think tank of Lord Irwin postponed the execution secretly and unofficially on 27th Oct 1930.

All the famous articles like "Why I am an Atheist" Oct 6-7, 1930, an open letter to Sardar Kishan Singh (Father) on Oct. 4, 1930 (being published in "The TRIBUNE"), an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi being published in "PUNJAB KESRI" dated February 2, 1931, written by Bhagat Singh were taken out from the condemned cell by Affjal Rahi (Jharu Master) a secret agent. All the meetings with relatives or friends were banned in the first's week of August 1930. The only mean of communication with outer world was Rahi, who has had won over the confidence of Bhagat Singh. Affjal Rahi informed Bhagat Singh that his father Sardar Kishan Singh has submitted a petition to the Special Tribunal with a view to save him from the gallows. This news disturbed Bhagat Singh very much and when he heard that the said petition was only for him, he immediately wrote an open letter to his father. When the said letter was published in "The TRIBUNE" it served two purposes; firstly Bhagat Singh got more publicity as a brave and courageous young man who could be a true Leader of young Indian, while the Britisher succeeded in stopping that petition in the light of said letter.

Just before the pronouncement of judgment, the Punjab Government had decided to release Bhai Randheer Singh, who was in jail for 15 years and had fought many agitations in various jails for the welfare of prisoners; Bhagat Singh, Jatin Dass along with others also fought for the same cause in Lahore Jail non-violently. So both Bhagat Singh and Bhai Randheer Singh had got regard for each other. One was only 23 years old young man and second was 52 years old

freedom fighter. Both were mentally strong and remained true to their ideas. Two were in the same jail for 140 days from 16th May 1930 to 4th October 1930. Both had desire to meet each other but jail authorities did not allow for the same.

Chief Warden Mr.S.Chopra and Jail superintendent Khan Sahib Mohamad Akabar played an important role in arranging an unofficial meeting between Bhagat Singh and Bhai Randheer Singh at 4 P.M. October 4, 1930, just three days before the judgment. Although it was the record meeting but it was arranged with the full knowledge of higher authorities. The information collected by Dalip Singh Alahabadi clearly show that, that meeting was the brain work of special cell of C.I.D. Punjab under Sardar Sant Singh Superintendent of C.I.D.

On one hand, civil authorities of Lahore wanted to keep the releasing of Bhai Randheer Singh a secret and without any disturbance, on other hand they desired to know about the future planning, if any, of Bhai Randheer Singh. They were also eager to know about the present state of mind of Bhagat Singh, whether he was repenting on his action or he was clear about his mission. What was discussed between Bhagat Singh and Bhai Randheer Singh for about two hours, till today is a point of contention?

Bhai Randheer Singh wrote down in brief about that meeting in a Punjabi book "JAIL CHITTHIAN"—(Letters from jail) in which he tried to convince the readers that Bhagat Singh had discussed in details why he had cut his hair and betrayed the old tradition of his ancestors. Accordingly to that version Bhagat Singh was of the opinion that the print media (Newspapers) of Punjab were biased and communal that's why the Punjab's Newspaper did not mention the sacrifices of Gadharities (the old revolutionaries of 1915-16 movement) although their struggle was more precious than his sacrifice. Whereas Bhagat Singh got special coverage only because he has cut down his hair. Bhai Randheer Singh further wrote that Bhagat Singh had promised him to grow his hair onwards.

As mentioned earlier, the above said meeting was a planned trap of intelligence wing, so the authorities sent their agent Affjal Rahi to discuss with Bhagat Singh about the subject matter of meeting both

the freedom fighter. Bhagat Singh was upset over some words being spoken by Bhai Ji. He was convinced by Rahi to defend his views in details thus the long article, "Why I am an Atheist" came into existence on 5-6 -7th October 1930. Bhagat Singh wrote in details about his position on religion and God. That article came out from death cell through Affjal Rahi and became a property of secret files of Home Department of Punjab. The contents of that article gave a tool to racial English think tank to make use of it at a proper time.

The Britisher knew that Indian were very sensitive on religious matter and could not tolerate any thing against GOD and Religion. And they used that article after the death of Bhagat Singh in 1932 when his name was going to be renowned in every house of Punjab irrespective of Hindu's Sikh's or Muslim's. People who had faith in GOD started looking otherwise. Hindu started considering him against their mythology and orthodox Sikh did not approve his action of cutting hair. To win sympathy for Bhagat Singh among Sikhs, Bhai Randheer Singh published his memories in 1936 and claimed that Bhagat Singh was a true Sikh at heart and had long hair at the time of his death.

Even after 75 years of the execution this controversy is still going on about the Martyr Bhagat Singh. Here lies the greatness of Bhagat Singh's personality that various groups are trying to identify him with their own sect. Whereas Bhagat Singh was a unique figure, throughout his political life he tried his best to be a unique, he grasped new ideas, and he experimented on new ideas and kept on evaluating his thoughts. He was an adventurous so he searched out many books, ideology. On one hand, he had a respect for Sikh GURU and took guidance from Sikh History, for example he stated on 6th June 1929 in his written statement in Bomb Case — "The elimination of force" at all cost is Utopian, and the new movement which has arson in the country, and of that dawn we have given a warning, is inspired by the ideals which guided GURU GOBIND SINGH and SHIVAJI— LENIN.

If he has had such regards for Sikh GURU then what was the compulsion to write an article, which was used against his personality? If he had no faith in religion then why he was so eager to meet Bhai Randhir Singh a committed religious man who fought for religious symbol in jails against the British. The answer to above

questions may be contradictory or may be the same. But the Historian did nothing to solve the controversy. But surely the intention of Bhagat Singh was different, what we all intended to give.

He was not against religion but was against the use of religion to exploit the people. He tried to convince his people to be realistic and follower of natural sciences and not to a blind faith.

The British made full use of his contradictory position regarding the said meeting of October 1930, and made his death a mystery. There are many stories about the last rites. Britisher put up their own explanation regarding the early execution (as considered by most of us) at night. The dead bodies of the entire three young Martyrs were not handed over to their relatives while all of them were present in Lahore at that time. Some people thought that the authorities took the dead bodies from jail after breaking the backside wall. Why? — A big crowd was present on the "Main Gate of Central Jail in the evening. What a silly explanation, other one believed that the dead bodies were cut to pieces before taking out. What was the urgency to do that? Was the Britisher afraid of dead bodies? Till today all the historian of Indian History are agreed with the explanations being put forwarded by the civil authorities of Lahore about the last rites. According to the prevailing story the dead bodies of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj Guru were taken to bank of Satluj in Ferozpur District and put on the pyre. But the news of cremation brought a large crowd of people from nearby villages like GANDA SINGH WALA came there and so the bodies were consumed fully by fire and British were forced to throw the half burnt bodies in the flowing water.

But all those stories are doubtful, if we apply our general knowledge about the Geographical situation of the site, where the cremation had taken place at that time i.e. on March 23-24, 1931. It was just 100 yards away from the busy railway track of North Western Railway linking Ferozpur to KASUR-LAHORE-MULTAN and the National Highway Road on which all the traffics were passing across the SATLUJ, on northern side of the present site at Husainiwala and Dipalpur Main Canal which was originating from the Hussianiwala Headwork's western side just 50 yards away on southern side. If the British had tried to conceal the cremation, how far it was safe to choose such a place nearer the traffic area?

4

B I G

Bhagat Irwin Gandhi

The period of a fortnight just before the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj Guru, was an eventful time. The infamous Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on 5th March 1931; with that pact the final onslaught was launched by Lord Irwin to curtail the powers of Mahatma Gandhi and National Movement of Independence. All the appeals put forward to Privy Council were rejected. There was a public cry to save the Trinity- Bhagat Singh- Raj Guru & Sukhdev. Everybody was upset over the silence of Gandhi- Irwin pact about Bhagat Singh. The Clause 9 related to prisoners. It neither mentioned of non-satyagrahi prisoners nor it mentioned any thing about Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The newspapers criticized Gandhi and the common man's mood was full of anger at the omission of Bhagat Singh in the settlement.

What happened under those circumstances, sealed the fate of Gandhi, the Congress party, the National movement, the Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association and Bhagat Singh. The winner was the person who used the atmosphere in favor of his political aims and objects. Those 18 days, from March 5 to March 23, 1931 saw a big psychological fight between three B I G s Bhagat Singh, Irwin (Edward Fredrick Lindley Wood) and Gandhi (Mohan Dass Karam Chand Gandhi) they all tried their best to win the tense battle of nerves. On one side was the eldest personal (62 yrs) on other side was youngest (23Yrs) and in between 52 years old cunning, clever &

colonist. One was a saint like Bhisham Patama of Mahabharat, second was bold and brave ABHIMANIU and the third a hypocrite like Shakuni.

After the battle was over the clear winners were Bhagat Singh and Irwin, while Gandhi was a loser on all front. Bhagat Singh achieved Martyrdom as he desired and perceived, thus became a Legend. Lord Irwin was successful only in prolonging the life of British Raj for 16 years and ultimately concede the freedom to the Indian people, yet the fight for total Independence as conceived by Bhagat Singh and comrades is still going on. But the poor, Mahatma Gandhi was a clear-cut loser on all fronts. Till today most of the people of India considered him a weak and opportunist leader, but this is not the truth. His condition was just like the RAANJHA. (The famous lover of Heer)

Nale run gyee, nale kan patte
Es Ishque -thee napha kee khatya-ee.

(On one side the lady has left you alone and on the other side you have torn off your ears, {became Sadhu} let me know what you have earned from this business of love)

Before dividing the National Independent Movement permanently Lord Irwin and his men had completed one more job. The job was to finish Hindustan Socialist Republican Association formally (HRA). The one-man force behind HRA bold actions was Pandit Chandra Shekhera Azad. He was a very brave, courageous and intelligent man, who had organized HRA and chose very committed workers for HRA very carefully and none of them had betrayed the organization.

The predecessor of Lord Irwin, the MARQUESS of READING, was not a successful man; he could not implement the policies of his Masters from London. From April 1921 to March 1926, the British India saw many successful political movements, first, the Civil Disobedience Movement which brought the entire Indian under flag in November 1921. Every city and town saw the peaceful protestant disobeying all the orders of civil administration. The British were under pressure and Gandhi established himself as a undisputed leader of Indian National Congress. Indians were demanding more powers

and Independence and the movement was going out of control. So to give an excuse to Mahatma Gandhi for withdrawing the movement suddenly, the Intelligence Bureau of British planned the CHAURA-CHOURI incident and Gandhi suddenly withdrew the movement in the name of violence, as discussed earlier.

Although the Indian Government was successful in curtailing the Disobedience movement but that resulted in the formation of Hindustan Republican Association in 1922. Thus the youth of India who had deserted their Government jobs and Schooling on the call of Gandhi, got frustrated and easily attracted toward the National Militant Movement of HRA in U.P. towards BABBAR AKALI LEHAR in Punjab, while the industrial labors of Calcutta, Mumbai, Kanpur etc. came under extreme left political wings of Communist—Marxist ideology. In Punjab, on 12th April 1928, the Kirti Kisan Party was founded at Amritsar. Sohan Singh Josh and M.A. Majid were appointed Secretary and joint secretary respectively, and Naujawan Bharat Sabha was established after one year.

While the students of various colleges of Lahore founded “Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha” on the initiative of Bhagat Singh, Principal Chhabil Dass and Bhagwati Charan Vohra in April 1926. Other founder members of Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha were Sukhdev, M.A. Majid, Yashpal, Ranbir, Ishan Illahi, Pindi Dass, Jai Gopal, Hans Raj Vohra. The Sabha was actively supported by Kidar Nath Sehgal, one of the founders of Kirti Party in Punjab and Mehta Anand Kishore and Sardul Singh Kavisheree.

So when Lord Irwin took charge of India as the Viceroy of India, in April 1926, the political atmosphere was filled with the nationalist militancy from West Bengal, Bihar to Uttar Pardesh and Punjab. The Indian National Congress party was on the back foot and its leadership was trying best to re-establish itself among the common Indian. As discussed earlier Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and Pt. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi backed Hindustan Republican Association through Pt. Ram Parshad Bismal and Pt. Chandra Shekhra Azad.

In Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai, the influential congress leader, motivated the youth through the educational institutes. Pandit

Professor Vijay Alankar, Principal Chhabil Dass, Sardul Singh Kavisher and comrade Ram Kishan etc. were those Congress leaders who fully supported the Nau-Jawan Bharat Sabha and Kirti Party on one hand and on other side they reactivated the congress workers.

Slowly and steadily the left ideology established itself through the communist party of India, All India Peasant & workers party and various Industrial Unions. By the year 1928-29 the Indian National Congress party was clearly divided into three groups, although all were united outwardly; Rightist, Centralist and Leftist Congressmen. The think tank of Viceroy Lord Irwin prepared itself to coup with the danger of Socialist Camp. The outcome of Irwin & Co. was the successful launching of Meerut Conspiracy Case against 33 Communist leaders belonging to various states and Unions of India in March 1929. If any one goes through the files and records of Home Department of India related with the Merrut Case, it is evident how clever were the brains of Irwin & Co. At least one year before the beginning of said trial, how they prepared a strong legal case to crush the onslaught of Labour movement.

Second blow, to crush the Industrial Labour movement, was the creation of Public Safety Bill and Trade Dispute Bill. Both bills were meant to smother resistance to British rule. The first bill, the PUBLIC SAFETY BILL, was designed to empower the Government to detain anyone without trial.. Presently, the people's government, democratically elected by the common people of India, enacted such bills such as MISA and recently TADA are two glaring example of pseudo- democratic setup. The second bill was meant to deter Labour Unions from organising strikes.

To stop such a cunning group of Imperialist Britisher being led by Lord Irwin, there must be an answer strong enough.. Only that person could give an equal answer to a particular question, which would have been equal to psychological level of the questioners. Bhagat Singh was the answer to Irwin. He had developed his mental ability to the level of exploiter. Bhagat Singh understood the dangers of two bills.

Bhagat Singh and his comrades wondered why their tactics (to kill British man with bullet and bomb) had not yielded the result they had envisaged. The bomb might be necessary at times to arouse

attention. But they also had to convince people through argument and personal example that theirs was the best way to release the Common man from the slavery of foreigners. The Government machinery was a weapon in the hands of the ruling class to safeguard its interest. Bhagat Singh said "We want to snatch and handle it to utilize it for the consummation of our ideal, that is, social reconstruction". He further argued "We have to educate the masses to create a favorable atmosphere for our social programmes".

Bhagat Singh brought revolutionaries with different brain-set ups under one flag of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Although he did not agree, but he took active part in the killing of Saunders and when the killing of Saunders had not produced the desired result, he made his comrades to rethink upon their future plans. As the Irwin was preparing ground for his successful tenure through those two bills, Bhagat Singh was preparing his comrades to give an answer to the question of bills, through discussions and debate among themselves.

Bhagat Singh was thinking parallel to Irwin and had a planning to protest against the bills while the bills would be presented in the Assembly. But, what would be the way of action was the question to be discussed. Every one had given his opinion in the debate upon the two bills at Hingmandi Agra, the headquarters of HSRA. Most of them considered the Assembly a worthless institution. Some argued that throwing bomb in the Assembly might kill some British Official. Would it help? No, not at all. Bhagat Singh strongly stopped all that. He said, "Such an act will give an opportunity to the Britisher and Gandhians to project us as "a bunch of killers. This must not be supported".

Only Bhagat Singh was a person who thought that both, the Britishers and the Leaders of Indian National Congress Party, who were representing the capitalist of India, were the enemy of HSRA. So, Bhagat Singh wanted to kill two birds with one stone. On one hand to stop the bills and registered the protest on behalf of the Common Indian and secondly to defeat the malicious propaganda by both Gandhi and Irwin.

So, finally, the HSRA decided that two comrades from among

them would hurl bomb from the Public gallery at the treasury benches in the Central Assembly Hall, taking care not to hurt anyone. The explosion was sure to start a debate on why the two young men had chosen the secure environs of the Assembly to risk their lives. It would make people think. People would realize how the revolutionaries had braved dangers to register their protest against the jungle raj the British had come to represent in the country. Two persons, B.K.Dutt and Ram Saran Dass were nominated for the task. But that was not enough. Who would fight the worldly duel in the courtroom?

Only words could do that. They must be told, the rulers must be put in the dock.. The courts should be used as a forum to propagate revolutionary patriotic ideas and to rekindle fervors for the country freedom. The public must know the motive of the revolutionaries. If the motive was set aside, said Bhagat Singh, "Jesus Christ will appear to be a man responsible for creating disturbances, breaking peace and preaching revolt and will be considered to be a dangerous personality in the language of the law. But we worship Him"

Bhagat Singh was a man with clear vision on his aims and objects. So when at last, he was chosen to go with B.K. Dutt on 8th April 1929 in the Assembly to throw the bomb, he prepared himself with each and every argument for his motto and against his enemy, the Imperialist and Capitalists alike. Bhagat Singh opened his weapon of arguments with the "Red Leaflets" which were thrown after the action of Bomb throwing. The leaflets were written in well-selected words in brief as follows.

"It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear, with these immortal words uttered on a similar occasion by VALLIANT, a FRENCH anarchist martyr, do we strongly justify this action of ours". "Without repeating the humiliating history of the past ten years of the working of the reforms (Montague- Chelmsford Reforms) and without mentioning the insults hurled at the Indian Nation through this House—the so-called Indian Parliament- we want to point out that, while the people expecting some more crumbs of reforms from the Simon Commission, and are ever quarrelling over the distribution of the expected bones, the Government is thrusting upon us new repressive measures like the FLIGHT SAFETY and the Trade

Disputes Bills, while reserving the Press sedition Bill for the next session. The indiscriminate arrests of labour leaders working in the open field clearly indicate whither the wind blows”.

In these extremely provocative circumstances, the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in all seriousness, realizing its full responsibility had decided and ordered its army to do this particular action, so that a stop be put to this humiliating force and to let the alien bureaucratic exploiters do what they wish, but they must be made to come before the public eyes in their naked form.

“Let the representatives of the people return to their constituencies and prepare the masses for the coming revolution, and let the Government know that while protesting against the Public Safety and Trade Disputes Bills and the callous murder of Lala Lajpat Rai, on behalf of the helpless Indian masses, we want to emphasize the lesson often repeated by history, that it is easy to kill individuals but you cannot kill the ideas- Great Empires crumbled while the ideas survived. Bourbons and Czar fell”.

“We are sorry to admit that we who attached so great a sanctity to human life, we who dream of a glorious future, when man will be enjoying perfect peace and full liberty, have been forced to shed human blood. But the sacrifice of individuals at the altar of the ‘Great Revolution’ that will bring freedom to all renders the exploitation of man by man impossible, inevitable”.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION

Bhagat Singh was the winner and Lord Irwin had lost the first round of the battle which started with launching of Meerut Conspiracy Case against 33 communists on 28th March, 1929 and ended with the pronouncement of judgment on the Assembly Bomb Case on 12th June 1929 by Judge Leonard Middleton at Delhi. Although Lord Irwin & Co. tried its best to eliminate Bhagat Singh who was charged with attempt to murder under Section 307 of the Indian Penal Code, but the arguments put forwarded by Bhagat Singh through his written statements on 6th June, had changed the situation and the judge Middleton could not deliver the judgement according to his masters.

Middleton said, "Normally these youths must not be allowed to lead to the infliction of an inadequate punishment. Still he did not want to hang them".

Bhagat Singh had exposed the government which was using courts for its benefit. He had won the heart of many Indian and gained Public sympathy. He also demonstrated the uselessness of the constitutional method and of the non-violent technique of wresting freedom from the foreign Government and the urgency of replacing these by armed revolution. He used the court as a platform to advocate the revolutionary point of view and in the process he rekindled the patriotic sentiments.

Lord Irwin described the whole episode of bomb throwing differently. He admitted that the "two assailants" had taken care not to kill anyone. They could have caused havoc if they had so desired. But their target was the "institution" of the Central Assembly. Lord Irwin had smelled the brilliance of Bhagat Singh. He and his aides were surprised how Bhagat Singh had cleverly used their machinery.

Till then Mr., Gandhi and his close associate could not judge the qualities of Bhagat Singh. They all took him as a lunatic person. Mr. Chaman Lal a congress party member to the Central Assembly delivered a speech against him. Bhagat Singh differed from Mahatma Gandhi most diametrically in his approach to the vital issue of how to attain freedom. Gandhi stood for a non-violent, non-exploiting social and an economic order based on the principles of non-co-operation with the system which supports the state founded on unjust laws and unfair means of distribution. While the revolutionaries wanted the transfer of power and transformation of society through violent methods. Both Gandhi and the revolutionaries stood for their own principles.

But Bhagat Singh believed that the use of both the methods, violent and non-violent, was very useful and if both the parties could work unitedly then, and then Indian could win freedom easily and earlier.

But it is a truth that an English officer Allen Octavian Hume founded the Indian National Congress party in December 1885 at Bombay (Mumbai) and its objectives were included.

1. The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all More Earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts Of THE EMPIRE.
2. Consolidation of the national Sentiments and eradication of the Prejudices of race, creed and a province.
3. To keep authoritative record of the matured Indian views on Important matters concerning this country.

In fact the organization constituted by the English and was meant for the English Empire, so, how it could change its basic character. Once again, in the last month of 1929, when the names of Bhagat Singh and his comrades were taken with respect in political circle of freedom movement, Bhagat Singh had tried to convince Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose through his commander-in chief Balraj alias Pt. Chandra Shekhar Azad to mobilize the public to overthrow the Empire.

According to Dalip Singh version Bhagat Singh had proposed a plan from Central Jail Lahore. The Plan was to organize mass processions from various big cities towards New Delhi on 1st January 1930 and on reaching there on 26th Jan 1930, take over the Central Assembly and thus declare complete Independence SAMPURAN SAWRAJ. But the whole planning could not be materialized because of the basic character of the Congress Party and secondly the bomb blast on the train of Viceroy of India on 23rd December 1929, while Lord Irwin was returning to New Delhi, near old fort. That gave an excuse to Mahatma Gandhi to condemn the extremist action of revolutionaries but to satisfy the common worker the Congress Party organized a big public rally at Lahore. Where on 26th January 1930 Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru declared "SAMPURAN SAWRAJ", to get it would be the new target of Congress Party.

But that policy of Congress to retreat at a very crucial and decisive point of the movement by its leader brought a bad name for its leader especially Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. M.K. Gandhi did not learn any lesson from deceitful nature and policy of the Britishers and once more was caught in the web of Diplomacy, Dishonesty, Cunningness, and Opportunism during the

talks with Lord Irwin from February 17, 1931 to March 4, 1931 which resulted in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on March 5, 1931 just 18 days before the proposed date of execution of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev.

During these 15 days of confidential talks held at the Viceroy House, New Delhi no aide was present. Gandhi did not take any notes. Lord Irwin did at the end of the day and those are preserved in the archives. According to file No. 5-45/193/K.W. 2; Mahatma Gandhi raised Home Government Political Branch, Bhagat Singh's case in February itself. The minute dated Feb.18 recorded by Lord Irwin says' "In conclusion not connected with above he mentioned the case of Bhagat Singh. He did not plead for commutation (of death sentence) but he did ask for the postponement in the present circumstances".

Irwin was a diplomat so he used diplomatic language in his notes, thus fired a shot which could deface Mahatma ji in the coming time. This is the truth that the people of India are blaming Mahatma Gandhi only in the light of written notes of Lord Irwin, his home Secretary Mr. Herbert Emerson which are kept in record rooms of archives the "Fullness of days (1957) an autobiography of Lord Irwin and the biography of Lord Irwin entitled". Lord Halifax published in 1941 being written by Allan Campbell Johnson.

Incidentally Mr. Allan Campbell Johnson, a personal friend of Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary of Government of India during the tenure of Lord Irwin and at the time of execution of Bhagat Singh, was the same person from whose house Dalip Singh Alahabadi collected the secret papers pertaining to relationship between Jawaharlal Nehru and Chandra Shekhar Azad those papers in which the conspiracy of execution of Bhagat Singh was hidden. Mr. Johnson was the boss of Lady Margaret Johnson who loved Dalip Singh. Johnson was a journalist having a desire to score a scoop. It is very strange that the account given by him has not been rebutted

In this chapter it is not our intention to give clean chit to Mahatma Ji but to rectify the misconception about the history Vis and Vis Bhagat Singh, Irwin and Gandhi, three B I G names at that time Bhagat Singh was a revolutionary and has acted as revolutionary.

Irwin was a diplomat and had played diplomacy very well at every juncture. Gandhi was a saint, a Mahatma at soul, but the tragedy was that he was playing a character of a politician in the DRAMA of politics where only that person could survive who had a cunning character. Then how he could be a successful actor or a politician. And that tragedy engulfs the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi. Although Gandhi stood for non-violence throughout his life, even then he pleaded for commutation of death penalty of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru & Sukhdev. Mr. Irwin mentioned about that as follows,” As I listened to Mr. Gandhi putting the case of commutation forcibly before me, I reflected first on what significance it surely was that the apostle of non-violence should so earnestly be pleading the cause of the devotees of a creed so fundamentally opposite to his own but I should regard it as wholly wrong——“

All the records about Gandhi-Irwin talks may it be official record, autobiography or Biography having a one thing common in it, the successful effort to hide “The Truth” and to spread the hatred feeling among the people of pre-Independence and post-Independent India. There is not a single sentence to mention what was going on in Lahore at that time?

Lord Irwin and his associates put up that matter in black and white, which explained only one side of the talks, according to which Gandhi was a villain, who ordered the early execution of Bhagat Singh. But the reality was not this, actually Lord Irwin and his government was under tremendous pressure due to successful political movement for total Independence. Gandhi had turned down the offer of talks for First Round Table Conference at London.

Thousands workers from all walks of life were Court arrested and had filled the jails. Gandhi once again, had established himself undisputed leader of Independence movement and did not show any leniency towards the British. So Lord Irwin and his council made a plan to defame Gandhi for ever and for that the Englishmen had used “the death sentence of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru & Sukhdev” accordingly. Ultimately on one hand Lord Irwin had shown soft corner for the talk and conceded maximum to M.K. Gandhi. But to balance the loss, he took a hard posture on the question of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru & Sukhdev.

During the crucial talks Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary of India had played an important role with the help of the Governor of Punjab Mr. Malcom Hailey to prepare the ground for the execution of the three secretly. During that period there were discussions among the English Officers that Lord Irwin was under pressure and he might concede pardon to the three convicted. But most of them did not desire so. They could not tolerate any decision less than the execution. Main force behind that thinking was the father-in-law of Saunders, Mr. B.G. Andrews, personal assistant to the Governor of Punjab. He had a personal grudge against Bhagat Singh for pumping 4-5 bullets in the dead body of Saunders on 17th December 1928, who had been killed by the bullet of Raj Guru. He mobilised many English Officers to resign their Government's services if the Indian Government would show any leniency towards the murderer of Saunders.

Although Mr. James Alaxander Scott, the former superintendent of Police of Lahore had been shifted to Rawalpindi after the incident of 17th December 1928, but he put his influences on the English Officers to be united and to put on maximum pressure on Lord Irwin and his counselors at Delhi for the conviction to be carried out without any delay. The Home Secretary to the Government of Punjab H.M. Cowan, I.C.S. had sent a memorandum regarding the sentiment of British of Lahore, to the Home Secretary Sir Herbert Emerson at New Delhi.

According to Dalip Singh Allahabadi the Director of Intelligence Bureau of India got information's that few English officers at Lahore were ready to take law in their hand and would kill the convicted in jail itself if the Indian Government had surrendered. The emotion and sentiments of many English Ladies were expressed through the Public petitions to the Governor of Punjab. Dalip Singh had told that there was an urgent meeting held at Irwin's House on March 12 or 13, 1931, in which a deputation of English Officers from Lahore had submitted a memorandum in writing either to accept the resignation enmass in the wake of acceptance of special mercies petitions or they might be allowed to carry on their secret plan in order to cooled down the anger of friends and relatives of Saunders.

Dalip Singh further told Kulwant Singh Kooner that the Governor of Punjab Mr. Malcom Hailey had made a promise earlier to the

gathering of Englishmen and women at the burial of Saunders on December 18, 1928 at Lahore, to take the revenge from the murderers in the same way and fashion. Thus when the time has come to execute the death penalty, the relatives put-up the demand to kill the culprit with bullets.

Lord Irwin was under pressure from two sides, from Indian and from the English. Legally neither he could accept the demands of his community about the fate of the convicted persons nor could he accept the commutation demand of Gandhi and his countrymen. But he had full desire to defeat Gandhi politically and to win creditability for him as his tenure completed after a month or so. Both desires were easy to achieve with one stroke. But the real problem was to satisfy his officer at Lahore.

So at last on 16th March 1931 Mr. Emerson had informed telegraphically his counter part at Lahore. The language of that telegram has secret meanings. The Home Department, Government of India informed the Punjab Government that, your telegram of 16th. Governor-General —in-Council has declined to interfere on behalf of the persons under sentences of death in Lahore Conspiracy, namely, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. The Government of India accept the view of Local Government that advantage lies in not waiting until after Karachi Congress, but they consider execution should be carried out not later than Monday 23rd and earlier if practicable. We are giving preliminary warning to Local Government. Kindly Communicate actual date by cipher wire (Vide file No. 4/21, 4/31, 1931)

Question arises, what Advantage lays? And why the execution should be carried out not later than March 23rd? If any body can get the answer to the questions he/she might be able to clarify the mess and controversies about Gandhi and Bhagat Singh episode.

Mr. Campbell- Johnson, the biographer of Lord Irwin and later-on Press-Secretary to Lord Mountbatten in New Delhi, and Mr. H.W. Emerson, the Chief Secretary to the Government of India had mentioned in their writing that on March 19,20,21 and 23rd 1931 Mahatma Gandhi do have raised the question of commutation of the sentence. — the impression which Gandhi conveyed to the Viceroy

on March 19—— They spoke for three hours that evening on the “difficulties arising out of the settlement” Gandhi mentioned the case of the Raja of Kalakankar; a case arising out of the forest satyagraha in the district of Colaba in the than Bombay Presidency; and the scope of the terms of the amnesty. ——

It was Emerson who raised the topic of Bhagat Singh. I then asked him if he had seen in the papers that the Governor-General-in-Council had rejected the petition for mercy on behalf of Bhagat Singh. He said that he had that he was apprehensive regarding the consequences. *I did not mention the date on which the execution would be carried out*, but I did explain to him that the question as to whether it should take place before or after the Karachi Congress had been very seriously considered by the Government. —

The half confession of Mr. Emerson in the above writings clearly shows cleverness and the seriousness of the Britisher Rulers. All those writings, upon which our historians analysed the role of Gandhi about Bhagat Singh and his comrades, are nothing but the concordant stories. The truth was buried under those false statements.

It is very clear that the British-ruler of India had decided the fate of trio well in advance but they were trying to make maximum ADVANTAGE from the execution of the three. As mentioned early by Dalip Singh Allahabadi got the whole truth about the last days of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in Lahore Jail. He told that the Local Government of Punjab has got green signal to carry on the secret plan” The peace and tranquility” according to which the execution would be carried out at Night in the Jail. Only a few Englishmen would be present at the site of gallows and no Indian Officer should be present at the time of execution. The planning was to tranquilise ‘the three’ and after that the father-in-law of Slain Saunders, Mr. Andrew may fire bullets on “the murderers” to cool down the force of revenge.

After getting the written order from New Delhi, the Home Secretary of Punjab Government informed the Home Secretary, Government of India, “Your telegram of the 17th Instant No. 797-S, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev will be executed at 7 on evening of March 23rd. The news will be made known in Lahore on early

morning of March 24th—dated 18th March 1931, Lahore (file No. 4/21, 4/31—1931).

On the same day, after getting the information from Punjab Government about the time and date of execution, New Delhi had informed to the other Local Governments as follows, "Please refer to Emerson's demi-official of 28th February, regarding Lahore Conspiracy convicts. Petitions of mercy have been rejected. It is probable that the execution will take place not later than 23rd, but further information is stated in the demi-official will be given in due course. Meanwhile this information should be treated as very secret".

Now it is crystal clear that Irwin, Emerson was fully aware about what was going on in Lahore at the time of Gandhi-Irwin talks but did not reveal any thing to "the poor Gandhi" instead of that they made maximum advantage out of Bhagat Singh Episode and till today we are considering Gandhi as a villain. It is worthwhile to mention here what, A.G. Noorani has written in his book "The Trial of Bhagat Singh" about Gandhi's truth.

Reading the record as a whole archival and published, there is great regret on three counts.

One is that Gandhi did not know, did not try to know and to understand, Bhagat Singh' thinking when he was in prison, specifically, his renunciation of terrorism. Here was a man of enormous potentialities who would have served far more devotedly than most. A preeminently educable Youngman. It was surely a life worth saving. The effort should have been made.

Secondly, there is a reference in Gandhi's letter of April 29, 1931 to C. Vijayraghawa Chariar to the fact that "the legality of the convictions (of Bhagat Singh and his associates) was discussed threadbare by Jurists like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru with the Viceroy. It is unfortunate that the monstrous illegalities of the trial passed muster, as they did. The fundamentals of constitutional and criminal law were flouted. Sir Tej did not denounce them in public nor did any other jurist of national eminence outside Punjab.

The last regret is about Gandhi's role between February 18 and March 22. As late as March 20, he was counseling Emerson, a

bureaucrat who had exhibited his racism to the Central Assembly on September 14, 1929, on damage Control. It was bad enough that Gandhi spoke to the Viceroy as he did on February 18 and March 19. It was far worse that he counselled the Home Secretary thereafter on ways to contain expression of indignation by his own people on the execution of a patriot, whose patriotism Gandhi himself admired, by the British rulers of the Country.

While presenting three regrets Mr. A.G.Noorani mentioned seven words "*a bureaucrat who had exhibited his racism*", Emerson was not only the racial bureaucrat but many more were functioning in New Delhi and Punjab at that time. The whole drama of Lahore Conspiracy Case was revolving around "the Racism". The climax of that racial drama was the cold blooded murder of three young patriots-Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.

How Bhagat Singh fought against 'that racism' in Lahore Jail from March 4 to March 23rd till he was shot dead along with his part and parcel Rajguru and Sukhdev by racial gang of few English officers of Punjab, was revealed by Dalip Singh, to Kulwant Singh Kooner when he was nearing his death.

5

The Darken Nights

When the talks between Irwin and Gandhi were in final stage in New Delhi, the British men at Lahore were preparing themselves to crush the symbols of New Revolution in Punjab. The symbol that emerged in the form of Bhagat Singh, the glowing star of Indian freedom struggle was exposing every tool of Imperialism being deployed in India through so called democracy and judiciary. Although the rulers had applied every method to crush the patriotism of Bhagat Singh and his comrades but after every blow he became more stronger and harder. So the racial bureaucrats stopped all meetings with relatives and comrades in jail on 4th March, just a day before the signing of Gandhi-Irwin pact.

On March 3, Tuesday, there was last interview with all the members of family including grand father Arjan Singh, father Kishan Singh, mother Vidyawati, Sister Amar Kaur and two younger brothers Kultar and Kulbir. Everybody was sad and remoseful, but grand father and father and mother were hopeful for reduction in punishment in the light of long talks between Lord Irwin and Gandhi, whereas Bhagat Singh was sure that nothing could be achieved through such talks. He has had a firm belief that how could an enemy, or strong head opponent be spared from gallows by another enemy. It was we Indian that forgave Alaxander (SIKANDER-E-AZAM) and hoped for the same from our opponents. But, now the enemy was full of hatred adamant to crush the revolutionary sprit in India.

Bhagat Singh had smelled the racism amongst few jail officers. If we could understand the language and meaning of a few couplets which were being written by Bhagat Singh himself in a letter to his younger brother Kultar Singh after the last interview, it is crystal clear that he understood the meanness and racial thinking of those officer who were attached with his case.

He wrote in the letter;

**USAY YEH FIKR HAI HARDAM
NAYA TERZE JAFI KYA HAI-
HAMEN YEH SAUK HAI DEKHEN
SITAM KI INTIHA KYA HAI-**

(Roman version of the original letter in Persian)

It means, the English men were trying new methods and forms of treachery so that they could crush the brave spirit in Bhagat Singh. Whereas Bhagat Singh was eager to see what limits are to possession.

In another couplet he wrote;

**KOI DUM KA MEHMAN HOON AI-AHLE-MEHFIL—
CHIRAG-E-SEHER HOON-BUJHA CHAHTA HOON-**

(Bhagat Singh declared that he is a guest for a few moments and death can occur any time. He is just like earthen lamp that burns the whole night and may be extinguished before the dawn)

So, we could see how Bhagat Singh had predicted 20 days before about his imminent death at the hands of the British. Mr. Dalip Singh Alahabadi told that when he reached Lahore on 18th March 1931 to inquire about the seriousness of "*the view of Local Government that advantage lies in not waiting*", he had a chance to visit the Central Jail Lahore at night on 19th or 20th March with the help of JHARU-MASTER Afjal Rahi, an agent of same department in which Dalip was working. There he saw a meeting in the guest room of jail in which four English officers (Gora Log) were sitting on one side of the table while on other side Bhagat Singh was sitting in the chair with handcuff and chains.

The hot discussion was on the peak, The English officer were

trying to demoralize Bhagat Singh that his country-men and leaders had betrayed him and his party. No one has raised any objection on Gandhi-Irwin pact. You were saying all the time that the people of India were after him and would revolt if you were hanged. Now you will see soon that they would give you very shameful death penalty and even your dead body would not be spared.

Bhagat Singh replied in louder voice that he was expecting the same meanness from your side. "You are racial and have no regards for human life other than white skinned. But remember, its your foolishness if you think that no one will mourn our death and no one will remember us. I am confident the people of India will mourns our death and will carry-on the struggle against you Imperialist, till there would be an end to exploitation. He further declared that although he was deadly against any worship and has no desire to do so even then the Indian would raise our memorials"—.

After hearing the whole dialogues Dalip Singh was convinced by the courage and bravery of young Bhagat Singh. He felt sorry for his sincerity towards the British. Now he was a changed man. He changed his mission from loyalty to disloyalty towards the Raj. He collected various information about the planning of execution and likely percussions, if any, if Viceroy or King might pardon the convicts. He rushed back to New Delhi to submit his reports on 22nd March... Before leaving for New Delhi he met Afjal Rahi and shared his emotions about Bhagat Singh. He requested him to convey his blessing with regard to young Bhagat Singh. While doing so he was fully aware that if Afjal Rahi betrayed him and conveys all his sentiments about the convicts to the British Intelligence he might be trapped in and might be killed by the order of his boss as he had done the same job on the order of his boss to eliminate three agents of his department.

Afjal Rahi told him that he was also disturbed at heart and felt very sorry for his dirty job. Rahi confessed to Dalip Singh that now it was very difficult to face Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. They all three loved him very much and gave respect because of his caste and creed. They think that Rahi belongs to poor peasant families. They had shown full faith on Rahi, so any written material was handed to him without any hesitation. But he himself exploits their

sentiments. He agreed with the Englishmen that the Indian people and Leader had betrayed Bhagat Singh and his party men. He shared his agony about his fate. Rahi was thinking that he might be killed by the English authorities to hide the truth.

He also disclosed to Dalip Singh how he got a letter from Bhagat Singh for Chander Shekhar Azad in which Bhagat Singh asked Pandit Ji about the promise which was made by Moti Lal Nehru with Pandit Ji at the time of Lala Lajpat Rai's death. That letter was copied by a handwriting expert in the office of C.I.D. Punjab at Lahore. Rahi was very much upset for many days after hearing the news of an encounter with police in which Chander Shekhar Azad was killed in Alfred Park, Allahabad. Because that happened just 10-12 days after he passed on the said letter to the linked man.

On reaching New Delhi Dalip Singh met his boss Micheal Luke Robertson at his house because of Sunday. He was very upset and sad. After submitting his report in detail he asked for a long leave but Robertson turned down his request and ordered him to be ready for next action. Robertson also put him a question, whether he had heard about any death squad at Lahore. Dalip replied that he was not aware of any such squad.

Next day, March 23, Monday when Dalip came to the office, he got an order to proceed to Lahore by the evening train and collect necessary information about the execution which was to be carried out at 7 P.M., Monday Night. He asked his boss, "Pardon me sir, why at 7 P.M. in the evening, instead of early dawn traditions?" Robertson replied that he could not say any thing about that.

Meanwhile in Lahore on 23rd morning Sardar Kishan Singh was present at the gate of the Central Jail Lahore at 9 A.M. along with all the members of his family including Baba Arjan Singh. The mother of Rajguru also came from Pune for the last meeting with his son, who was going to be hanged in coming days. Lala Chint Ram Thapar, uncle of Sukhdev came with two Lorries full of blood relations from Lyallpur. Almost all the nearer and dearer relatives of three Youngman assembled well before the fixed time 11 A.M. for the last meeting.

A tussle erupted at the jail. The jail superintendent did not allow Lala Chint Ram Thapar and other relatives, who had no direct blood

relation with Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. Accordingly to Jail manual only blood relatives, were allowed to meet the condemned criminals. While Lala Chint Ram pleaded that he had written order from the Chief Secretary, Punjab Government for the interview. But the Superintendent of Jail insisted that Lala has no direct blood relation. He permitted an interview only to the father (Kishan Singh) mother (Vidyawati) and two brothers (Kultar and Kulbir) of Bhagat Singh, the mother and brother (Mathra Dass Thapur) of Sukhdev and to the mother of Rajguru.

On hearing about the tussle Bhagat Singh and Rajguru sent a message to Sardar Kishan Singh that they were not interested to meet selective relatives, as a result thereof, all the relatives who were allowed to meet refused to have an interview as a protest. The mother of Rajguru, who came alone from very distant place, also did the same in sympathy with Lala Chint Ram who was looking after the family of Sukhdev, after the death of his brother, the father of Sukhdev and Mathra Dass.

After about three hours of fruitless waiting outside the jail gate in scorching heat, the relatives of Bhagat Singh and others returned home without having an interview at about 1 P.M. Lala Chint Ram and Sardar Kishan Singh had sent telegrams to the Viceroy, Home Minister of India and Punjab Government and others intimating development which ran thus, "Relation of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Rajguru went to Central Jail for last interview. Authorities refused permission except father, mother, and brother. Other blood relations not allowed contrary to expressed jail Manual rules. Pray interfere and allow interview to all near relations who came from distant places this being last occasion".

The relatives were hoping for the best from those who had planned otherwise. On one hand the authorities had sent their consent for interview in the official letters being sent to Lala Chint Ram, Kishan Singh and the mother of Rajguru, but otherwise they instructed the jail Superintendent to disallow the interviews on pretext of Jail Manuals.

The fight between life and death was in full swing. The slave Indian were trying to save the precious life of their three son Bhagat

Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev although they were insulted and demoralized time and again while the black forces under white skin did all the sin without any fear. On March 21, Rai Bahadur Badri Dass asked the High Court for leave to appeal to the Privy Council against Justice Bhide's order. On the same day he moved another habeas corpus petition on behalf of Bhagat Singh's brother Kultar Singh on the ground that Justice Bhide had only mentioned the "possibility of commutation of the sentences" while delivering his judgement on a petition on, filed by Amolak Ram Kapur. February 25. 1931.

But Justice Bhide did not dispose of the question as to the execution of the death warrants which was raised in Kapur's petition. So Rai Bahadur Badri Dass apprehended in his petition that the three condemned prisoners would be executed on March 23rd as the last interview allowed to their relatives was fixed at 11 a.m. on that day.

Both the petition, one for leave to appeal to the Privy Council and another for habeas corpus came up for hearing, once again before justice Bhide on that fateful day, March 23. As was evident Justice Bhide said he would not hear the habeas corpus petition as he had already expressed his opinion on a similar petition earlier while for special leave to appeal to the Privy Council was kept pending. Mr. A.G. Noorani had given the whole proceedings of that day in his book, "The Trial of Bhagat Singh" in full details.

The judge dismissed the petition at 3 p.m.

According to Dalip Singh's information, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was under pressure from the youth and left wing within the Congress party. Subhash Chander Bose was very angry that the congress was doing nothing to save the three brave sons of India. He cautioned congress leadership about the likely division amongst the congress workers if congress could not save Bhagat Singh and his comrades. He also reminded Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that Bappu (Mahatma Gandhi) had promised him on 20th March, if the proposed rally in favour of Bhagat Singh on 20th evening could be cancelled, then he (Bappu) would exert more pressure on the Viceroy.

In the light of above situation Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru contacted his English friends at London who were very close to the crown on Sunday Night. He got an assurance from the office of the Secretary of

State of India that the Mercy petition was under consideration of the Crown and an order would be dispatched on Monday morning when the offices would be opened after Sunday Holiday. According to the secret reports Pt. Nehru want to see Lord Irwin at late night and told about the assurance he got from London. Lord Irwin also assured him that as soon as he would get an order from London he would instruct the Punjab Government accordingly.

But the Viceroy informed the Secretary of State on 23rd March 1931 by "Cipher" "Petition of Mercy of Bhagat Singh and two other condemned have been rejected and execution has been fixed for this evening. In the meantime their friends have filed last minute application (hint towards R, B, Badri Dass's petition) in High Court at Lahore. We understand they will be heard today. If they are rejected existing arrangement will be carried out. If High Court reserves judgement, it will be necessary to postpone execution".

The above version of the telegram showed that there was no information or order, what so ever received from London or it might be possible that the Viceroy had send the above telegram after getting the necessary order from the Authorities at London as was promised to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. But, the truth was that Lord Irwin knew well what was going to happen at Lahore and he did not desire any change in the planning at the last hours.

Even, the district Administration printed the poster, well-in-advance to declare, publically, the news of the execution and ultimate cremation of the three (Telegram of 18th March from the Home Secretary, Punjab Government to the Home Secretary, Government of India—"THE NEWS WILL BE MADE KNOWN IN LAHORE ON EARLY MORNING OF MARCH 24TH".

At about 1 A.M. (Monday Night) March 24th 1931, notice signed by the District Magistrate Lahore were pasted in various parts of the city announcing that the bodies of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru had been cremated according to Sikh and Hindu rites on the bank of the Sutlej.

According to information collected by Dalip Singh Alahabdi, when all the petitions were rejected by the High Court, all the relative

approached advocate Pran Nath Mehta, who moved an application to the Court to get the permission for an interview with Bhagat Singh to know his last Will. The permission was granted accordingly and all reached at the Central jail Lahore. Only Pran Nath Mehta was allowed to go inside the jail to meet Bhagat Singh, and till then, around 5 p.m., no one knew that the execution was going to be carried out after two hours.

When Mehta came out of the jail there was a big crowd of relatives, and friends and public assembled and the sentiments were very volatile. The anguish and the anger was in full swing. Sardar Kishan Singh and Lala Chint Ram tried to pacify the crowd. They feared that if the crowd got uncontrolled, the authorities might resort to lathicharge or even firing, So to save the innocent lives they both decided to retreat to the city and they both had requested the gathering to move to congress party office. All the people departed to the city in a procession and a public meeting was started there at about 6 P.M. and was addressed by Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Kishan Singh and others, condemning the high headedness of the English authorities.

Only few persons were left at the gate of the Central Jail Lahore, at about 6.30 p.m. High pitched slogans emerged from inside the jail. "INQUILAB-ZINDABAD" (Long live the Revolution) – Bhagat Singh – Zindabad- Rajguru Zindabad – Sukhdev Zindabad. Loud and continue shouts were heard outside the jail which were shouts by all the prisoners of jail who were put in the barracks two hours before the schedule.

Five to six English officer came at the jail gate a few minute before 7 p.m. They were escorted by a big military lorry and a military jeep and both the vehicles were returned back soon after the officer went inside the jail. It was a clear indication for the people outside that their beloved young heroes were going to be hanged very shortly. So some of them rushed towards the city to inform the leaders, what was going to happen.

Dalip Singh told Kulwant Singh that after examining all the arrangements the District Magistrate, an Englishman ordered all the Indian officers of jail to go outside the gallows's premises. Only Gora log (Whiteman) left there along with three heroes of the day—

BHAGAT SINGH, RAJGURU AND SUKHDEV with their hand tied at their back. Bhagat Singh smiled and questioned an officer, "Where your courage is to kill us with your bullets?" The officer replied that they would show it at the proper time and place. Another officer shouted, "Don't get excited have a patient for the death. Three replied jointly, "We are ready to face the death at any time and at any place."

On 24th, Dalip Singh reached Lahore and on his way to police kotwali he saw the closed shops and Bazaar. He heard a public announcement in the loudspeaker on a Tonga. The speaker was asking the public to join the funeral procession of three martyrs, Bhagat Singh Rajguru and Sukhdev. The announcement proclaimed that there would be a public gathering on the bank of Ravi, (a river passing by the City) where the body remains would be put on pyre. There was a fear and anger in the eyes of the people of Lahore. At police kotwali every body was in a hurry. The whole police machinery was on a high alert. He could not meet any officer in the office of C.I.D. He was waiting for higher authority when Afjal Rahi came there. He was also in a hurry, when he was turning back he saw Dalip Singh. Both met each other and say Dua-Salam (wishing a good morning) Then Afjal Rahi requested him to have a cup of tea with him. Both went to the teashop. On the way Afjal Rahi handed over a folded paper to Dalip Singh and requested him to pass on that letter to the family of Bhagat Singh. It was a last letter being written by Bhagat Singh, on 23rd before the dawn set in.

With tears in his eye, Rahi was narrating the story of that morning. He told, when he went to death cell of Bhagat Singh on Sunday evening to wash off the dirt, Bhagat Singh called him with his nick name Booboo. He went near the door, Bhagat Singh said, "My dear Booboo I know that you are doing a very difficult job. On one hand you are washing and cleaning our dirt and on other hand you are passing all the information about three of us to your masters? Afjal Rahi remains silent with his eyes down. Bhagat Singh put his right hand on the shoulder of Rahi and said, "Look you are doing nothing wrong. It is all for the sake of hunger for bread. You have performed your duty with sincerity. Now I am requesting you to do one job for me with sincerity".

Rahi asked for forgiveness with folded hand and made a promise

in the name of ALHA (the Almighty) to keep his words. Then Bhagat Singh asked him whether he could bring any religious book for him next morning. Rahi questioned him, "why he want a religious book, when he has no faith in God what so ever?" Bhagat Singh replied, "Still, I have no faith in God. Do you know that all the books, note-books, pen pencil are taken back from me? I want to write a letter to my father to share my emotions. And that could be possible only on plain paper but I know that the jailor would not give any thing. If you will request any English officer for "The Bible" he will allow very gladly". After a movement a further request to bring a pen or pencil also, but how? He did not reply.

Rahi went to an English officer of jail and requested him to lend him 'The Bible' for Bhagat Singh. He also requested him to allow him to carry 'the Bible' in jail. The permission was granted as the English mind saw some dent in the psyche of adamant Bhagat Singh. They were happy that, at last, Bhagat Singh had developed fear for God. But they could not understand the intellect of a young man.

Rahi took "the Bible" to jail. He also took an ink-pen with him which was hidden in the broom and reached in death-cell premises in the early hours of 23rd March. There was a complete silence when Bhagat Singh wrote his last-wish on a paper which was taken out from the book cover of "the Bible"

After narrating the story of the letter Afjal Rahi requested Dalip Singh to pass-on the letter to the father of Bhagat Singh. Dalip Singh gave him assurance that he would try his best to hand-over the letter in safe hands. Then Dalip Singh went to the bank of Ravi, where a public rally was going to be held in the honour of the Martyrs. The atmosphere was full of rumors, every body was discussing about the half burnt dead bodies were found by the family members.

Next morning on 25th March Dalip Singh went to the office of Punjab C.I.D. to collect the new information, if any, about the execution and the cremation, but he could not get anything more than he had already collected. His mind was working otherwise, he smelled some foul play in the execution, as he heard himself, the hot discussion between Bhagat Singh and the groan log (White man) few days back in the jail, where the English officer were threatening to

eliminate Bhagat Singh and his two comrades according to their own Will. So he decided to go to the site from where the relatives of Bhagat Singh had found the pieces of dead bodies.

Dalip Singh reached Ferozpur by train from Lahore in the afternoon of 25th March and went to the office of S.P. (C.I.D.) to get any clue about the cremation. He contacted local agent and told them that he had come from the headquarter to make sure that there would be no evidence what so ever had left at the site of the cremation. By doing so he won the confidence of the agents. Two secret agents of C.I.D. told him that they had made the arrangement for the cremation of three dead bodies which were taken from the Ferozpur Sadar Police Station and said to be that of some petty looters from the rural area.

Dalip Singh told Kulwant Singh Kooner that the name of one agent was "MAMMAN" who was working in the city as a worker of a political party. It was "MAMMAN" who went to Lahore on the instruction of S.P. (C.I.D.) Ferozpur to pass on the news of cremation, in the office of the congress party at Braddell Hall, where many people were staying in search of the dead bodies of the three Martyrs. Now every thing was clear in the mind of Dalip Singh, how the English officer of Lahore had hatched a conspiracy to make fool of Indian people.

Then he went to the site at Hussaniwala with one of the agent. Many people were present on the western bank of the river "SATLUJ". On one place a small piece of ground was blackened and half burnt charcoal was scattered every where. Dalip Singh saw few agents of his department who were reporting to the senior agent who came with Dalip Singh.

In order to collect any material evidence like half burnt bones or body pieces, Dalip Singh also went to deep water on the pretext of swimming but nothing was found. While he was bathing in the river Satluj, his clothes were blown and drenched in shallow water. Incidentally the last letter of Bhagat Singh which was given by Afjal Rahi got damaged with water as it was kept in the pocket of his trouser.

At night he returned back to Lahore and tried to contact Afjal Rahi next morning, but he got bad information that Afjal Rahi was slain by some unidentified person last night. That news gave a

warning signal to Dalip Singh. He immediately understood what had happened with Rahi, who was double crossing the secret services. He smelled the danger on his life also. He left for New Delhi at Night and reached Delhi to submit his report to his boss Robertson.

After that incident of death of Rahi, Dalip Singh remained frightened constantly and he feared that he might be eliminated in the same way one day.

After some days he got a chance to go through the secret reports of Lahore agent in which it was revealed that on Monday 23rd, three convicted were hanged in Lahore jail at 7.15 p.m. but they were not allowed to die. They fell unconscious after a few second of hanging and unconscious bodies were removed to Lahore Cantonment on a big Lorry which was full of wood, one report also revealed that the leader among the convicted (Bhagat Singh) gained some conscious after some time. Then the P.A. to the Governor of Punjab the father-in-law of Saunders was allowed to shoot at the convicted. He fired bullets on the head and chest of Bhagat Singh and others.

Then the dead bodies were taken to the selected site at the Right Bank of Beas-Satluj River, where the last rites were performed, according to the religious faith of the convicted. The reports also mentioned about the happiness and satisfaction of British Community in Lahore, on the work done by the Death Squad.

Mr. V.N.Smith Superintendent of Police (political) Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab wrote in his memories on "The Saunders Murder Case" being preserved in a microfilm at the British Library London, ————"Normally execution took place at 8 a.m., but it was decided to act at once before the public could become aware of what had happened—"He further wrote that "At about 7 p.m. shouts of Inqilab Zindabad were heard from inside the jail. This was correctly, interpreted as a signal that the final curtain was about to drop".

At 7.15 p.m. all the three Youngman were hanged, but, as earlier described, their hanged bodies were removed before their souls departed. All the three were unconscious with broken neck. The man who performed the duty of hangman was arrested immediately and according to Dalip Singh information, was slain in the room where the dead bodies were usually kept for identification after the execution.

The slain dead body of the hangman was put into the big lorry along with three unconscious heroes of Mother India.

When some people reached at the public meeting being addressed by the leaders in Lahore and informed, what had happened in jail, most of the gathering start running towards the Central Jail which was about 3-4 miles from the site of the meeting. While Sardar Kishan Singh, Lala Chint Ram uncle of Sukhdev and other responsible persons went to see a high official of the Central Jail Lahore, for claiming the dead bodies and it is said though he was at home, he sent word that he was not at home.

Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava sent the following telegram to the District Magistrate Lahore, the Chief Secretary to the Government Punjab; Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev hanged this evening. Where and when should we present for taking the dead bodies? Wife of Sardar Kishan Singh, father of Sardar Bhagat Singh and mother of Rajguru and Sukhdev are at Lahore”.

Mr. S.R. Bakshi described in his book on Bhagat Singh that a responsible official in the Secretariat was contacted on the telephone by the leaders of Congress. The peon of the officer replied that he was at home and an Englishman attended to the phone. But when he heard who it was that was phoning, he replied that Mr.— was not in at all and he did not know when he would come back. This was at about 8.30 or 9 p.m.

After that the relatives of the prisoners went to the gate of the jail and though a number of jail official and warders were standing about, nobody was willing to give any definite reply.

At about 8.30 – 9 p.m. huge crowd assembled at the gate raising slogans, "Bhagat Singh –Amar Rahe" (Long live Bhagat Singh, Rajguru-Sukhdev-Zindabad-Zindabad (long live Rajguru and Sukhdev). The atmosphere was full of anger and excitement. The English men who came for the supervision of the execution were still inside the jail and it was feared that the crowd might attack the jail. In the crowd of 200-300 people there were many local agents of intelligence department present. They were instructed by officer to lead the crowd to the back side of the jail by declaring the news that the back wall of the jail was broken. So few agents came there and

announced, "Rush toward the back side—the bodies were taken out through a broken wall".

The whole crowd rushed towards the back side and the gate of the jail was free off any crowd; all the vehicles which were inside the jail came out immediately and rushed towards the Ferozpur Road.

On other hand when people entered the jail through the broken wall they saw blood scattered every where in a room near the gallows stand, and they presumed that the dead bodies were cut into pieces and were taken out side the jail to dispose off.

Meanwhile Kishan Singh, Lala Chint Ram and others reached there and send various groups of 8-10 people towards different directions around the jail and Lahore City. Most of them went towards the bank of river Ravi, which is flowing by the side of Lahore City. A central control office was established to monitor the search work but nothing was heard till midnight. At 1-2 a.m. some people informed the office that some posters were pasted on specific places declaring that the cremation had taken place at the bank of Satluj.

V.W.Smith described, "In the early evening a large lorry arrived with a load of firewood for the jail. Some time later the same lorry left with the same load, but with the addition of three bodies. The lorry headed in the direction of Ferozpur but followed a diversion and arrived at a selected spot on the bank of the river Beas—". He further described that the sentences of hanging had been carried out and that the bodies had been cremated in an orthodox manner correctly disposed off.

Although the written description of "The Saunders Murder Case" by V.W. Smith is a very small article but it has valuable material to unearth the hidden truth. He paid a rich tribute to Bhagat Singh as follows;

"Bhagat Singh was a brave man. He was arrested in the act of throwing a bomb in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi and it is pity that he should have thought that a cowardly murder would hasten Indian Independence. He is now regarded in the Punjab as a National Hero".

The Conclusion

Let us compare for a while the two three versions of the same event; about the removal the three dead bodies and their cremation. One version is accepted by the Indians and by the relatives of Bhagat Singh according to which the dead bodies were taken to the western bank of the river 'SATLUJ' at Hussainiwala Headwork's and were put on fire. But due to some unforeseen interruption the bodies remained half burnt. The people collected those half burnt bodies' pieces and brought back to Lahore where that was cremated with full honour by the relatives and friends.

Mr. S.R. Bakshi mentioned the whole story in his book "Patriot and Martyr, Bhagat Singh" as follow;

"Jai Dev Gupta narrates a shocking incident connected with the death of Bhagat Singh and his associates. 'After the hanging, when the bodies had not been given, the fear was that they were taken out somewhere for cremation. The atmosphere was very tense. Everybody was sad sullen and angry. People were moving here and there and also watching the outskirts of the city. At Bradlugh Hall, one information centre had been formed. *I was in charge there.* His (Bhagat Singh) sister Amar Kaur was there. The daughter of Lala Lajpat Rai was also there and so were few persons, two or three, not more than that. It was decided that if anything came to their knowledge, it would be communicated to the information centre at Bradlugh Hall. Early in the morning of 24th March, two volunteers came from Ferozpur and informed that the bodies had been cremated on the bank of the river

Sutlej. These two volunteers, one more person and I, were four, without giving any rise to suspicion started after telling Amar Kaur to inform her father that they should follow us just after an hour or so, so that there might not be any crowd which might give rise to suspicion to the police”.

“We four of us boarded the train at Lahore and got down at Ganda Singh Wala railway station — we got down there and from there the volunteers took us to the river. First we went to the upper side of the river, then climb down to the bank where the river was flowing. They told us that could be the place because *they had seen fire at a distant*— So we decided to take off our shoes and after that we began to walk over the sand. One place was warm—rather hot. We dug there a big round hole and after digging about a yard, there arose a very strong stench of kerosene and we found a bone here. Some bones here, some bones there; some flesh there. In the mean time, Amar Kaur also came there with many other people and whatever was available, was taken out. But there was one bone, probably it could be the forearm from the elbow to the wrist, it was cut in a diagonal form at the wrist. The bone was not charred nor was it showing a sign of burning. I could not understand the matter—The bone was rather very long. Probably, it was Bhagat Singh’s because he was tallest of the three”.

“— I did not give that bone to any body. I kept that bone with me. We all returned and a large procession was taken out and that bone was given to Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargwa and Dr. Satyapal. They examined it, of course, they were also surprised— ultimately, the enquiry commission came to the conclusion that the cut was not intentional it was incidental”.

“Mr. Bakshi further noted that, when the procession was passing through Paaper Mandi news was brought that the ashes and charred remains of Bhagat Singh Rajguru and Sukhdev had been brought by their relatives from the bank of the Sutlej near Ferozpur and that they would be carried in arthees (funeral) bedecked with flowers at about 3.30 p.m., three flower’s bedecked arthees carrying the remains of the three patriots were brought out from Pari Mahal.— mother of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru were conspicuous figures in the procession. —The procession reached the bank of the river Ravi just

after sun set. — The charred remains of the dead bodies were then cremated with due religious ceremonies as described.

The second version is that which was told by Dalip Singh Alahabadi to Kulwant Singh Kooner, according to which some English officers at Lahore developed hatred towards Bhagat Singh because of their personal belief and racial ill will. The relatives of J.P. Saunders were annoyed because they thought that Bhagat Singh had insulted the dead body of Saunders by firing 4-5 shots after he was shot-dead by Rajguru's bullet. They all desired to avenge that insult in similar way.

Moreover the British authority of India was frustrated with the rising popularity of Bhagat Singh and his ways exploiting the Government machinery—the courts and Press Newspapers for propagating his ideology. And when on 8th March 1931, Bhagat Singh gave his consent to Bejoy Kumar Sinha to file a mercy petition to the crown on his behalf after a prolong discussion between two friends, the same racial group of some English officers felt that their ambitions could not be fulfilled. So they made a secret plan according to which they send a team of some officers to Delhi and put-up the pressure on Lord Irwin and thus getting his silent consent to carry on their plan named "Trojan Horse".

So, on 23rd March 1931 the "Trojan Horse" plan was fully implemented and after a fake drama of execution the three young men were brought unconscious to a secret place in the Lahore Cantonment where they were shot dead by "the Death Squad". To conceal the whole episode the authorities had made arrangement for cremation at some secret place on the right bank of Beas and the Sutlej convergence. On the other hand to divert the public attention the authorities had made arrangement for another pyre at Hussaniwala. They were also afraid of postmortem which would reveal the presence of bullets in the dead bodies and same was the case with the ashes. By doing so, the Englishmen had fulfilled two jobs. One to pacify the anger of the relatives of Saunders and on other hand they befool of Indians who would pay tributes at wrong place and would worship the wrong bodies remains.

The Englishmen did not forget their hot discussion and arguments

with Bhagat Singh which were held secretly in the Central jail Lahore in the mid of March 1931. Bhagat Singh also wrote down his feeling in a letter to his friend that it was futile to pray for the mercy, instead of that it was valuable to sacrifice the life when the every Indian was making the demand for the mercy. He has strong conviction that after his death more and more Bhagat Singh would took birth and they all would over throw the British.

The Britisher think tank was also aware about the religious psychology of common Indian according to which Indian got inspiration from their Martyrs and Martyrdom places. They had observed the passion and regards for the Martyrs at Gurudawara Dehra Sahib Lahore where the 5th Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Arjan Dev was done to Martyrdom, at the Samadhi of veer Haqkit Rai in Lahore and at Gurudwara SIS GANJ at Delhi where 9th guru Teg Bahadur had sacrificed his head for the sake of the Hindus, so they did not desire to the same status to Bhagat Singh and his associates. Even they did not desire a true memorial of the three to be built at right place after their death.

Before coming to any conclusion let us re-examine the written statement of V.W. Smith in which he described as;

— “The lorry was headed in the direction of Ferozpur but followed a diversion and arrived at a selected spot on the banks of the river Beas, where a Sikh priest was waiting to cremate the bodies according to orthodox Sikh rites (The only un-orthodox proceeding was the use of kerosene to speed up the burning of the bodies, the ashes of which were consigned to the river. A police picket at a level-crossing on the Ferozpur road had been sent out to hold up any suspect vehicles”.

— “It was announced that there would be a big demonstration on the bank of the Ravi in the afternoon. No attempt was made to stop this demonstration; the mob was allowed to let off steam”.

“V.W. Smith also declared in an authentic wording that during the day it was announced that the cremation site had been discovered and that some bones and ashes were being brought in Lahore for public display.

— There can be little doubt that these bones were not those of the executed men but of some animal”.

Now rethink about some points from the three versions being discussed earlier. The points are;

—Two volunteers came from Ferozpur and gave information about the cremation on 24th March in the early morning (say at about 5-6 a.m. or may be more earlier or later)

—They (Volunteers) told us (Jai Dev Gupta) that could be the place because they had seen the fire at a distance—

(On one hand the volunteers informed about the cremation but they did not know the exact place of cremation. They saw a fire from a distance and presumed to be of the martyrs)

—One place was warm, rather hot, we (four persons) dug there a big round hole and after digging about a yard—and found some bones and flesh;

(Who buried up those hot-burnt bones so deep in the sand? Whether there was enough time to buried the remains by the English forces even after they had seen a mob of people from Ganda Singh Wala and other nearby villages as claimed by many historians and stories)

—The bone was neither charred nor showing any sign of burning but it was cut, in a diagonal form at the wrist;

(Is it be possible that a bone remained unburnt from the fire of a pyre? Were the dead bodies chopped to pieces before put into fire? As describe by Gupta- bone here, bone there and some flesh there? Why only one bone remains unburnt which was picked up by Jai Dev Gupta and presumed to be of Bhagat Singh? What a probability it was?)

Note: - The presumed bone is still kept in a Museum at Khatkar Kalan the native village of Bhagat Singh family in Punjab.

Here a question arises why Mr. Jai Dev Gupta did not hand over the bone to Bibi Amar Kaur for the final cremation at the banks of Ravi.

—As described the charred remains of the dead bodies were then cremated with due religious ceremonies at the bank of Ravi—.

(If the re-cremation was performed at the Ravi in Lahore by the relatives, friends and people with full religious and social ceremonies then the right and definite place must be some where in Lahore, where as the place at Hussainiwala is not a right place to pay the tributes. More over the said place of the Memorial at Hussainiwala was built 14-15 years after Independence by Sardar Partap Singh Kairon the then C.M. Punjab after getting some land from Pakistan Government in lieu of some area being exchanged with Pakistan at some other place.)

—V.W. Smith mentioned that the lorry was heading in the direction of Ferozpur but followed a diversion. This is a very important point which indicates towards the path being followed by the lorry loaded with wood-fire and three dead bodies of our Heroes. If some one goes through the geographical maps of Lahore city, of Lahore district and of Kasur town, then one can understand the meaning of—"but followed a diversion".

According to old maps the Central Jail Lahore, situated one mile away from the Lahore-Ferozpur road on a road leading to the Lahore Cantonment. In between the jail and Cantonment the railway line, connecting Lahore with Multan. The same railway track crossed the Ferozpur road where a level crossing was present on the 6th mile from Lahore. And just few yards from that point towards Ferozpur a side road was connecting the Cantonment area with the main road. After that up to 25 miles no side road or diversion was present and no other railway level-crossing was situated up to the city of Kasur.

So it was the same level crossing at which a police picket was set up to hold up any suspected vehicles as mentioned by V.W.Smith and the diversion which was followed by the lorry was non other then the road connecting the Cantonment from Ferozpur side without entering the city of Lahore.

Let us re-examine the map of Lahore city, there was an other main road named Khalra-Patti road was passing through the Cantonment. So from Lahore city, two main concrete roads were leading towards the river Sutlej. One was crossing the river at Hussainiwala after passing through a town and a railway junction, Kasur and the total length was 50 miles. While the second road was just touching the right

banks of the river Beas at Harike-Patten. From Kasur a railway line and a concrete road were heading towards Khem Karan 9 miles away from Kasur. The area was less inhibited due to flood prone marshy area of configurations of two rivers, the Beas and the Sutlej.

More over if the British authority carried the dead bodies directly towards Hussainiwala then it had to cross the whole city of Kasur which was not safe for a secret mission, and after passing through the city, the railway track and the road runs parallel up to the Headworks at Hussainiwala. It was difficult to conceal any action. Where as the Khalra road was rather safe as there was no town or city enroute and the total distant was less than 40 miles.

It is worthwhile to note that Hussainiwala was more than 15 miles from Kasur where as it was only 9 miles distance to Khem Karan. One can very easily predict the safest place for a secret mission.

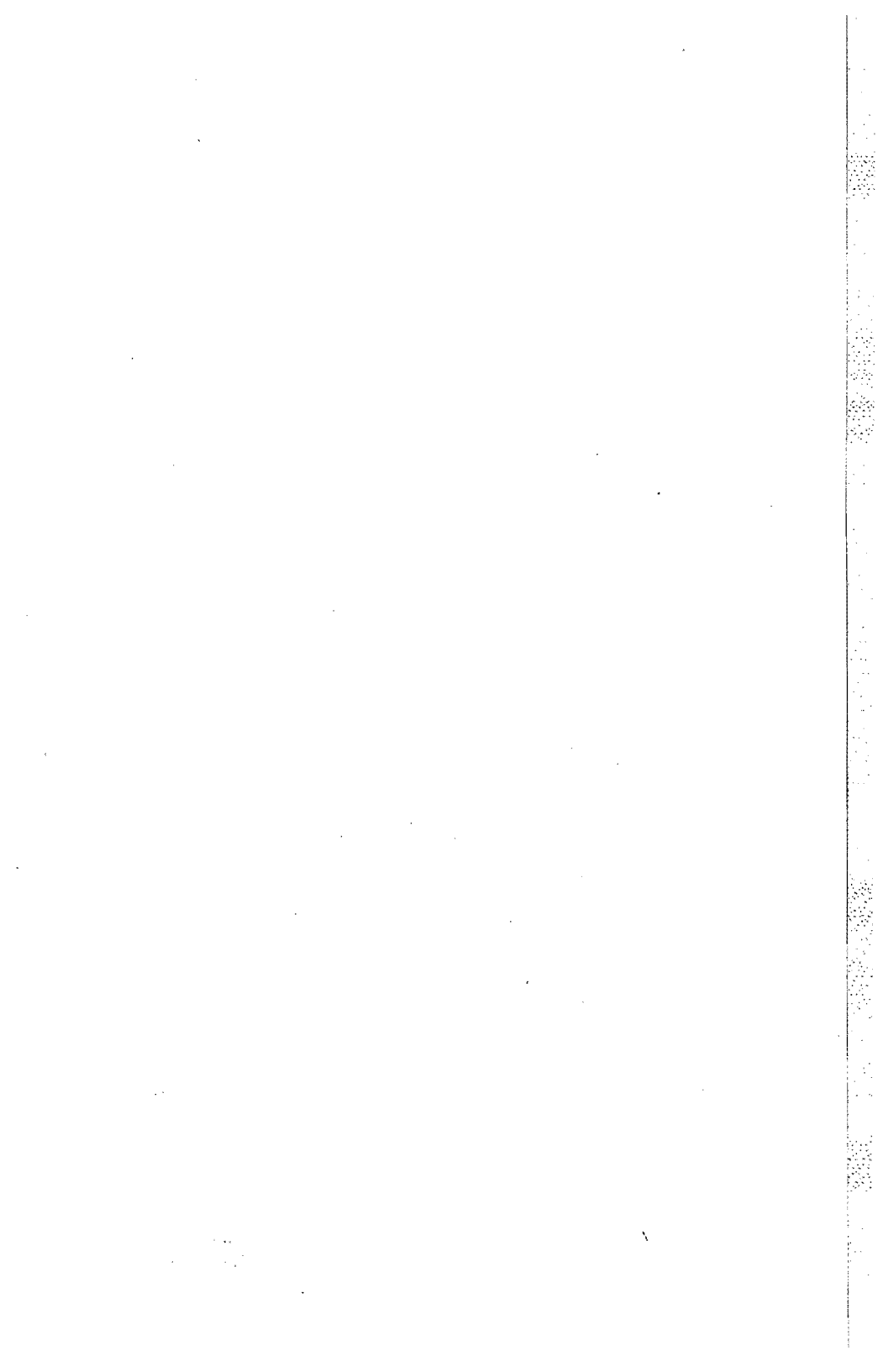
Let us go to another point form Smith's version;

"The cremation site had been discovered that some bones and ashes were not those of the executed men but of some animal" Only a person who had the knowledge of truth could speak and write so confidently.

To conclude the prevailing stories and versions of relatives of the dead and Jai Dev Gupta has many more lapse and doubts than the description being given by Mr. V.W. Smith who was the Senior Superintendent of C.I.D Punjab at the time of execution.

To rule out the version of Dalip Singh Alahabadi only one option is available and that is to testify the bone which is still preserved in the Bhagat Singh Memorial Museum at Khat Kkar Kalan, in the D.N.A. Laboratories. The second generation of the martyrs is living in India today. Many close relatives could donate their tissues for the test.

If the D.N.A. reports of relatives would not match with the D.N.A. reports of the bone, then the whole "The Hidden Truth" may be accepted by all, but on the contrary if the D.N.A. reports match then this work shall put on fire.



Annexure - I

A NEW QUESTION HAS CROPPED UP, IS IT DUE TO vanity that I do not believe in the existence of an omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient God? I had never imagined that I would ever have to confront such a question. But conversation with some friends has given me a hint that certain of my friends—if I am not claiming too much in thinking them to be so— are inclined to conclude from the brief contact they have had with me, that it was too much on my part to deny the existence of God and that there was a certain amount of vanity that actuated my disbelief. Well, the problem is a serious one. I do not boast to be quite above these human traits. I am a man and nothing more. None can claim to be more. I also have this weakness in me. Vanity does form a part of my nature. Amongst my comrades I was called an autocrat. Even my friend Mr. B.K. Dutt sometimes called me so. On certain occasions I was decried as a despot. Some friends do complain, and very seriously too, that I involuntarily thrust my opinions upon others and get my proposals accepted. That this is true up to a certain extent, I do not deny. This may amount to egotism. There is vanity in me in as much as our cult as opposed to other popular creeds is concerned. But that is not personal. It may be, it is only legitimate pride in our cult and does not amount to vanity. Vanity, or to be more precise “Ahankar” is the excess of undue pride in one’s self. Whether it is such an undue pride that has led me to atheism or whether it is after very careful study of the subject and after much consideration that I have come to disbelieve in God, is a question that I intend to discuss here. Let me first make it clear that egotism and

vanity are two different things.

In the first place, I have altogether failed to comprehend as to how undue pride or vain gloriousness could ever stand in the way of a man in believing in God. I can refuse to recognise the greatness of a really great man, provided, I have also achieved a certain amount of popularity without deserving it or without having possessed the qualities really essential or indispensable for the same purpose. That much is conceivable. But in what way can a man believing in God cease believing due to his personal vanity? There are only two ways. The man should either begin to think himself a rival of God or he may begin to believe himself to be a God. In neither case, can he become a genuine atheist. In the first case he does not even deny the existence of his rival. In the second case as well, he admits the existence of a conscious being behind the screen guiding all the movements of nature. It is of no importance to us whether he thinks himself to be that supreme being or whether he thinks the supreme conscious being to be somebody apart from himself. The fundamental is there. His belief is there. He is by no means an atheist. Well, here I am. I neither belong to the first category nor to the second. I deny the very existence of that Almighty supreme being. Why I deny it, shall be dealt with later on. Here I want to clear one thing, that it is not vanity that has actuated me to adopt the doctrines of atheism. I am neither a rival nor an incarnation, nor the Supreme Being Himself. One point is decided, that it is not vanity that has led me to this mode of thinking. Let me examine the facts to disprove this allegation. According to these friends of mine. I have grown vainglorious perhaps due to the undue popularity gained during the trials— both Delhi Bomb and Lahore Conspiracy cases. Well, let us see if their premises are correct. My atheism is not of so recent origin. I had stopped believing in God when I was an obscure young man, of whose existence my above-mentioned friends were not even aware. At least a college student cannot cherish any short of undue pride, which may lead him to atheism. Though a favourite with some professors and disliked by certain others. I was never an industrious or a studious boy. I could not get any chance of indulging in such feeling as vanity. I was rather a boy with a very shy nature, who had certain pessimistic dispositions about the future career. And in those days, I was not a perfect atheist.

My grandfather under whose influence I was brought up is an orthodox Arya Samajist. An Arya Samajist is anything but an atheist. After finishing my primary education I joined the D.A.V. School of Lahore and stayed in its Boarding House for full one year. There apart from morning and evening prayers, I used to recite "Gayatri Mantra" for hours and hours. I was a perfect devotee in those days. Later on I began to live with my father. He is a liberal in as much as the orthodoxy of religions is concerned. It was through his teachings that I aspired to devote my life to the cause of freedom. But he is not an atheist. He is a firm believer. He used to encourage me for offering prayers daily. So this is how I was brought up. In the Non-Cooperation days I joined the National College. It was there that I began to think liberally and discuss and criticize all the religious problems, even about God. But still I was a devout believer. By that time I had begun to preserve the unshorn and unclipped long hairs but I could never believe in the mythology and doctrines of Sikhism or any other religion. But I had a firm faith in God's existence.

Later on I joined the revolutionary party. The first leader with whom I came in contact, though not convinced, could not dare to deny the existence of God. On my persistent inquiries about God, he used to say, "Pray whenever you want to". Now this is atheism less courage required for the adoption of that creed. The second leader with whom I came in contact was a firm believer. Let me mention his name – respected Comrade Shachindra Nath Sanyal, now undergoing life transportation in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy Case. From the very first page of this famous and only book, *Bandi Jivan* (or *Incarcerated Life*), the Glory of God is sung vehemently. On the last page of the second part of that beautiful book, his mystic—because of Vedantism – praises showered upon God from a very conspicuous part of his thoughts. "The Revolutionary Leaflet" distributed throughout India on January 28th, 1925, was, accordingly to the prosecution story, the result of his intellectual labour. Now, as is inevitable in the secret work, the prominent leader expresses his own views, which are very dear to his person, and the rest of the workers have to acquiesce in them, in spite of differences, which they might have. In that leaflet one full paragraph was devoted to praise the Almighty and His rejoicing and doings. That is all mysticism. What I wanted to point out

was that the idea of disbelief had not even germinated in the revolutionary party. The famous Kakori martyrs—all four of them passed their last days in prayers. Ram Parsad Bismal was an orthodox Arya Samajist. Despite his wide studies in the field of socialism and communism, Rajen Lahiri could not suppress his desire of reciting hymns of the Upanishads and the Gita. I saw only one man amongst them, who never prayed and used to say, "Philosophy is the outcome of human weakness or limitation of knowledge". He is also undergoing a sentence of transportation for life. But he also never dared to deny the existence of God.

Up to that period I was only a romantic revolutionary. Up till then we were to follow. Now came the time to shoulder the whole responsibility. Due to the inevitable reaction for some time the very existence of the party seemed impossible. Enthusiastic comrades—nay, leaders—began to jeer at us. For some time I was afraid that some day I also might not be convinced of the futility of our own programme. That was a turning point in my revolutionary career. Study was the cry that reverberated in the corridors of my mind. Study to enable yourself to face the arguments advanced by opposition. Study to arm yourself with arguments in favour of your cult, I began to study. My previous faith and convictions underwent a remarkable modification. The romance of the violent methods alone was so prominent amongst our predecessors, was replaced by serious ideas. No more mysticism, no more blind faith. Realism became our cult. Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity; non-violence as policy indispensable for all mass movements. So much about methods. The most important thing was the clear conception of the ideal for which we were to fight. As there were no important activities in the field of action I got ample opportunity to study various ideals of the world revolution. I studied Bakunin, the anarchist leader, something of Marx, the father of communism, and much of Lenin, Trotsky and others — the men who had successfully carried out a revolution in their country. They were all atheists. Bakunin's *God and State*, though only fragmentary, is an interesting study of the subject. Later still I came across a book entitled *Common Sense* by Nirlamba Swami. It was only a sort of mystic atheism. This subject became of utmost interest to me. By the end of 1926 I had been convinced as to

the baselessness of the theory of existence of an Almighty supreme being who created, guided and controlled the universe. I had given out this disbelief of mine. I began discussion on the subject with my friends. I had become a pronounced atheist. But what it meant will presently be discussed.

In May 1927 I was arrested at Lahore. The arrest was a surprise. I was quite unaware of the fact that the police wanted me. All of a sudden, while passing through a garden, I found myself surrounded by police. To my own surprise, I was very calm at that time. I did not feel any sensation, nor did I experience any excitement. I was taken into police custody. Next day I was taken to the Railway Police Lock-up where I was to pass full one month. After many day's conversation with the police officials I guessed that they had some information regarding my connection with the Kakori party and my other activities in connection with the revolutionary movement. They told me that I had been to Lucknow while the trial was going on there, that I had negotiated a certain scheme about their rescue, that after obtaining their approval, we had procured some bombs, that by way of test one of the bombs was thrown in the crowd on the occasion of Dussehra 1926. They further informed me, in my interest, that if I could give any statement throwing some light on the activities of the revolutionary party. I was not to be imprisoned but on the contrary set free and rewarded, even without being produced as an approver in the court, I laughed at the proposal, it was all humbug. People holding ideas like ours do not throw bombs on their own innocent people. One fine morning Mr. Newman, the then Senior Superintendent of C.I.D., came to me. And after much sympathetic talk with me, imparted – to him the extremely sad news that if I did not give any statement as demanded by them, they would be forced to send me up for trial for conspiracy to wage war in connection with Kakori Case and for brutal murder in connection with Dussehra bomb outrage. And he further informed me that they had evidence enough to get me convicted and hanged. I those days I believed— though I was quite innocent— the police could do it if they desired. That very day certain police officials began to persuade me of offer my prayer to God regularly, both the times. Now I was atheist. I wanted to settle for myself whether it was in the days of peace and enjoyment alone that I could boast of being

an atheist or whether during such hard times as well; I could stick to those principles of mine. After great consideration I decided that I could not lead myself to believe in and pray to God. No, I never did. That was the real test and I came out successful. Never for a movement did I desire to save my neck at the cost of certain other things. So I was a staunch disbeliever, and have ever since been. It was not an easy job to stand that test. 'Belief' softens the hardships, even can make them pleasant. In God man can find very strong consolation and support. Without Him man has to depend upon himself. To stand upon one's legs amid storms and hurricanes is not a child's play. At such testing movement, vanity— if any — evaporates, and man cannot dare to defy the general beliefs. If he does, then we must conclude that he has got certain other strength than mere vanity. This is exactly the situation now. Judgment is already too well known. Within a week it is to be pronounced. What is the consolation with the exception of the idea that I am going to sacrifice my life for a cause? A God-believing Hindu might be expecting to be reborn as a king, a Muslim or a Christian might dream of the luxuries to be enjoyed in paradise and the reward he is to get for his suffering and sacrifices, But, what am I to expect? I know the moment the rope is fitted round my neck and rafters removed from under my feet that will be the final moment— that will be the last moment. I, or to be more precise, my soul as interpreted in the metaphysical terminology shall all be finished there. Nothing further. A short life of struggle with no such magnificent end, shall in itself be the reward, if I have the courage to take it in that light. That is all. With no selfish motive or desire to be awarded here or hereafter, quite disinterestedly, have I devoted my life to the cause of independence, because I could not do otherwise. The day we find a great number of men and women with this psychology, who cannot devote themselves to anything elder than the service of mankind and emancipation of the suffering humanity, that day shall inaugurate the era of liberty. Not to become a king, nor to gain any other rewards here, or in the next birth or after death in paradise, shall they inspired to challenge the oppressors, exploiters, and tyrants, but to cast off the yoke of serfdom from the neck of humanity and to establish liberty and peace shall they tread this— to their individual sieves perilous and to their noble selves the only glorious imaginable-path. Is the pride in their noble cause to be misinterpreted as vanity?

Who dares to utter such abominable epithet? To him I say either he is a fool or a knave. Let us forgive him for he cannot realise the depth, the emotion, the sentiment and the noble feelings that surge in that heart. His heart is dead as a mere lump of flesh, his eyes are weak, and evils of other interests having been cast over them. Self-reliance is always liable to be interpreted as vanity. It is sad and miserable but there is no help.

You go and oppose the prevailing faith, you go and criticize a hero, a great man who is generally believed to be above criticism because he is thought to be infallible the strength of your argument shall force the multitude to decry you as vainglorious. This is due to the mental stagnation. Criticism and independent thinking are the two indispensable qualities of a revolutionary. Because Mahatmaji is great, therefore none should criticize him. Because he has risen above, therefore everything he says—may be in the field of Politics or Religion, Economics or Ethics— is right. Whether you are convinced or not you must say; “Yes, that’s true”. This mentality does not lead towards progress. It is rather too obviously reactionary.

Because our forefather had set up a faith in some supreme being—the Almighty God— therefore, any man who dares to challenge the validity of that faith, or the very existence of that supreme being, he shall have to be called an apostate, a renegade. If his arguments are too sound to be refuted by counter-arguments and spirit too strong to be cowed by the threat of misfortunes that may befall him by the wrath of the Almighty, he shall be decried as vainglorious, his spirit to be denominated as vanity. Then, why to waste time in this vain discussion? Why try to argue out the whole thing? This question is coming before the public for the first time, and is being handled in this matter of fact way for the first time, hence this lengthy discussion.

As for the first question, I think I have cleared that it is not vanity that has led me to atheism. My way of argument has proved to be convincing or not, that is to be judge by my readers, not me. I know in the present circumstances my faith in God would have made my life easier, my burden lighter, and my disbelief in Him has turned all the circumstances too dry, and the situation may assume too harsh a

shape. A little bit of mysticism can make it poetical. But I do not want the help of any intoxication to meet my fate. I am a realist. I have been trying to overpower the instinct in me by the help of reason. I have not always been successful in achieving this end. But man's duty is to try and endeavour, success depends upon chance and environments.

As for the second question that if it was not vanity, then there ought to be some reason to disbelieve the old and still prevailing faith in the existence of God. Yes, I come to that now. Reason there is. According to me, any man who has got some reasoning power at his command always tries to reason out his environments. Where direct proof are lacking philosophy occupies the important place. As I have already stated, a certain revolutionary friend used to say that philosophy is the outcome of human weakness. When our ancestors had leisure enough to try to solve out the mystery of this world, its past, present and the future, its why and wherefores, they having been terribly short of direct proofs, everybody tried to solve the problem in his own way. Hence we find the wide difference in the fundamentals of various creeds, which sometimes assume very antagonistic and conflicting shapes. Not only the Oriental and occidental philosophies differ; there are differences even amongst various school of thought in each hemisphere. Amongst Oriental religions, the Moslem faith is not at all compatible with Hindu faith. In India alone Buddhism and Jainism are sometimes quite separate from Brahmanism, in which there are again conflicting faiths as Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharam. Charwalk is still another independent thinker of the past ages. He challenged the authority of God in the old times. All these creeds differ from each other on the fundamental question; and everybody consider himself to be on the right. There lies the misfortune. Instead of using the experiments and expressions of the ancient Savants and thinkers as a basis for our future struggle against ignorance and to try to find out a solution to this mysterious problem, we, lethargical as we have proved to be, raise the hue and cry of faith, unflinching and unwavering faith to their versions and thus are guilty of stagnation in human progress.

Any man who stands for progress has to criticise, disbelieve and challenge every item of the old faith. Item by item he has to reason out every nook and corner of the prevailing faith. If after considerable

reasoning one is led to believe in any theory or philosophy, his faith is welcomed. His reasoning can be mistaken, wrong, misled, and sometimes fallacious. But he is liable to correction because reason is the guiding star of his life. But mere faith and blind faith is dangerous; it dulls the brain, and makes a man reactionary. A man who claims to be a realist has to challenge the whole of the ancient faith. If it does not stand the onslaught of reason it crumbles down. Then the first thing for him is to shatter the whole down and clear a space for the erection of a new philosophy. This is the negative side. After it begins the positive work in which sometimes some material of the old faith may be used for the purpose of reconstruction. As far as I am concerned, let me admit at the very outset that I have not been able to study much on this point. *I had a great desire to study the Oriental philosophy but I could not get any chance or opportunity to do the same. But so far as the negative study is under discussion, I think I am convinced to the extent of questioning the soundness of the old faith. I have been convinced as to non-existence of a conscious supreme being who is guiding and directing the movements of nature. We believe in nature and the whole progressive movement aims at the domination of man over nature for his service. There is no conscious power behind it to direct. This is what our philosophy is.*

As far the negative side, we ask a few questions from the 'believers'.

(1) If, as you believe, there is an almighty, omnipresent, omnipotent God, who created the earth or world, please let me know why did he create it? This world of woes and miseries, a veritable, eternal combination of numberless tragedies: Not a single soul being perfectly satisfied.

Pray, don't say that it is His Law. If he is bound by any law, he is Not omnipotent. He is another slave like ourselves. Please don't say that it is his enjoyment. Nero burnt Rome. He killed a very limited number of people. He created very few tragedies, all to his perfect enjoyment. And what is his place in history? By what name do the historians mention him? All the venomous epithets are showered upon him. Pages are blackened with invective diatribes condemning. Nero, the tyrant, the heartless, the wicked. One Changez Khan

sacrificed a few thousand lives to seek Pleasure in it and we hate very name. Then, how are you going to Justify your almighty, eternal Nero, who has been, and is still causing numberless tragedies every day, every hour and every minute? How do you think to support his misdoing which surpass those of Changez every single moment? I say why did he create this world—a veritable hell, a place of constant and bitter unrest? Why did the Almighty create man when he had the power not to do it? What is the justification for all this? Do you say, to award the innocent sufferers hereafter and to punish the wrongdoers as dare to inflict wounds upon your body to apply a very soft and soothing ointment upon it afterwards? How far the supporters and organisers of the Gladiator institution were justified in throwing men before the half starved furious lions to be cared for and well looked after if they could survive and could manage to escape death by the wild beasts? That is why I ask: Why did the conscious supreme being create this world and man in it? To seek pleasure? Where, then, is the difference between him and Nero?

You Mohammedans and Christians: Hindus philosophy shall still linger on to offer another argument. I ask you, what is your answer to the above-mentioned question? You don't believe in previous birth. Like Hindus, you cannot advance the argument of previous misdoing of the apparently quite innocent sufferers. I ask you, why did the omnipotent labour for six days to create the world through word and each day to say that all was well? Call him today. Show him the past history. Make him study the present situation. Let see if he dares to say: "All is well".

From the dungeons of prisons, from stores of starvation consuming millions upon millions of human being in slums and huts, from the exploited labourers, patiently or say apathetically watching the procedure of their blood being sucked by the capitalist vampires, and the wastage of human energy that will make a man with the least common sense shiver with horror, and from the preference of throwing the

surplus of production in oceans rather than to distribute amongst the needy producers-to the places of kings built upon the foundation laid with human bones.... let him see all this and let him say: "All is well". Why and wherefore? That is my question. You are silent. All right then, I proceed.

Well, you Hindus, you say all the present sufferers belongs to the class of sinners of the previous births. Good. You say the present oppressors were saintly people in their previous births, hence they enjoy power. Let me admit that your ancestors were very shrewd people, they tried to find out theories strong enough to hammer down all the efforts of reason and disbelief. But let us analyse how far this argument can really stand.

From the point of view of the most famous jurists, punishment can be justified only from three or four ends, to meet which it is inflicted upon the wrongdoer. They are retributive, reformatory and deterrent. The retributive theory is now being condemned by all the advanced thinkers. Deterrent theory is also following the same fate. Reformatory theory is the only one which is essential and indispensable for human progress. It aims at returning the offender as a most competent and a peace-loving citizen to the society. But what is the nature of punishment inflicted by God upon men, even if we suppose them to be offenders? You say he sends them to be born as a cow, a cat, a tree, a herb or a beast. You enumerate these punishments to be 84 lakhs. I ask you: what is its reformatory effect upon man? How many men have met you who say that they were born as a donkey in previous birth for having committed any sin? None. Don't quote your Puranas. I have no scope to touch your mythologies. Moreover, do you know that the greatest sin in this world is to be poor? Poverty is a sin, it is a punishment. I ask you how far would appreciate a criminologist, a jurist or a legislator who propose such measures of punishment which shall inevitably force men to commit more offences? Had not your God thought of this, or he also had to learn these things by experience, but at the cost of untold sufferings to be borne by humanity? What do you think shall be the fate of man who has been born in a poor and

illiterate family of, say, a chamar or a sweeper? He is poor, hence he cannot study. He is hated and shunned by his fellow human beings who think them selves to be his superiors having been born in say, a higher caste. His ignorance, his poverty and the treatment meted out to him shall harden his heart towards society. Suppose he commits a sin, who shall bear the consequences? God, he or the learned ones of the society? What about the punishment of those people who were deliberately kept ignorant by the haughty and egotist Brahmins, and who had to pay the penalty by bearing the stream of being led (not lead) in their ears for having heard a few sentences of your Sacred Books of learning— the Vedas? If they committed any offence, who was to be responsible for them and who was to bear the brunt? My dear friends, these theories are the inventions of the privileged ones; they justify their usurped power, riches and superiority by the help of these theories. Yes, it was perhaps Upton Sinclair that wrote at some place that just make a man a believer in immortality and then rob him of all his riches and possessions. He shall help you even in that ungrudgingly. The coalition among the religious preachers and possessors of power brought forth jails, gallows, knots and these theories.

Annexure - II

Text of Statement of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt in the Assembly Bomb Case

(Read in the Court on 6th June, 1929 by Mr. Asaf Ali on behalf
of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt)

We stand charged with certain serious offences, and at this stage it is but right that we must explain our conduct.

In this connection, the following question arise.

1. Were the bombs thrown into Chamber, and if so, why?
2. Is the charge, as framed by the Lower Court, correct or otherwise?

To the first half of first question, our reply is in the affirmative, but since some of the so-called 'eye witnesses' have perjured themselves and since we are not denying our liability to that extent, let our statement about them be judge for what it is worth. By way of an illustration, we may point out that the evidence of Sergeant Terry regarding the seizure of the pistol from one of us is a deliberate falsehood neither of us had the pistol at the time we gave ourselves up. Other witnesses, too, who have deposed to having seen bombs being thrown by us have scrupled to tell lies. This fact had its own moral for those who aim at judicial purity and fairplay.

At the same time we acknowledge, the fairness of the Public Prosecutor and the judicial attitude of the Court so far.

Viceroy's Views Endorsed

In our reply to the next half of the first question, we are constrained to go into some detail to offer a full and frank explanation of our motive and the circumstances leading up to what has now become a historic event.

When we were told by some of the police officers, who visited us in jail that Lord Irwin in his address to the joint session of the two Houses *described the event as an attack directed against no individual but against an institution itself, we readily recognized that the true significance of the incident had been correctly appreciated.*

We are next to none in our love for humanity. *Far from having any malice against any individual, we hold human life sacred beyond words.*

We neither perpetrators of dastardly outrage, and therefore, a disgrace to the country, as the pseudo-socialist Dewan Chaman Lal is reported to have described us, nor are we 'Lunatics' as the Tribune of Lahore and some others would have it believe.

Practical Protest

We humbly claim to be no more than *serious students of the history and conditions of our country and her aspirations. We despise hypocrisy. Our practical protest was against the institution, which since its birth, has eminently helped to display not only its worthlessness but its far-reaching power for mischief.* The more we have pondered the more deeply we have been convinced that it exists only to demonstrate to world India's humiliation and helplessness, and it symbolizes the over-riding domination of an irresponsible and autocratic rule. Time and again the national demand has been pressed by the people's representatives only to find the waste paper basket as its final destination.

Attack on Institution

Solemn resolutions passed by the House have been contemptuously trampled under foot on the floor of the so-called Indian Parliament. Resolution regarding the repeal of the repressive

and arbitrary measures have been treated with sublime contempt, and the government measures and proposals, rejected as unacceptable by the elected members of the legislatures, have been restored by a mere stroke of the pen. In short, we have utterly failed to find any justification for the existence of an institution which, despite all its pomp and splendour, organized with the hard earned money of the sweating millions of India, is only a hallow show and a mischievous make-believe. Alike, have we failed to comprehend the mentality of the public leaders who help the Government to squander public time and money on such a manifestly stage-managed exhibition of India's helpless subjection.

No Hope For Labour

We have been ruminating upon all these matters, as also upon the *wholesale arrests of the leaders of the labour movement Meerut Case*. When the introduction of the Trade Disputes Bill brought us into the Assembly to watch its progress, the course of the debate only served to confirm our conviction that the labouring millions of India had had nothing to expect from an institution that stood as a menacing monument to the strangling of the exploiters and the serfdom of the helpless labourers.

Finally, the insult of what we consider, an inhuman and barbarous measure was hurled on the devoted heads of the representatives of the entire country, and the starving and struggling millions were deprived of their primary right and the sole means of improving their economic welfare. None, who has felt like us for the dumb driven drudges of labourers could possibly witness this spectacle with equanimity. None whose heart bleeds for them, who have given their life-blood in silence to the building up of the economic structure, could repress the cry which this ruthless blow had wrung out of our hearts

Bomb Needed

Consequently, bearing in mind the words of the late Mr. S.R. Das, once Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which appeared in the famous letter he had addressed to his son, to the effect that the 'Bomb was necessary to awaken England from her

dreams', we dropped the bomb on the floor of the Assembly Chamber to register our protest on behalf of those who had no other means left to give expression to their heart-rending agony. Our sole purpose was 'to make the deaf hear' and to give the headless a timely warning. Others have as keenly felt as we have done, and from under the seeming stillness of the sea of Indian humanity, a veritable storm is about to break out. We have only hoisted the 'danger-signal' to warn those who are speeding along without heading the grave dangers ahead. We have only marked the end of an era of Utopian non-violence, of whose futility the rising generation has been convinced beyond the shadow of doubt.

Ideal Explained

We have used the expression Utopian non-violence, in the foregoing paragraph which requires some explanation. Force when aggressively applied is 'violence' and is, therefore, morally unjustifiable, but when it is used in the furtherance of a legitimate cause it has its moral justification. *The elimination of force at all costs is Utopian, and the new movement which has arisen in the country, and of that dawn we have given a warning, is inspired by the ideal which guided Guru Gobind Singh and Shivaji, Kamal Pasha and Riza Khan, Washington and Garibaldi, Lafayette and Lenin.*

As both the alien Government and the Indian public leaders appeared to have shut their eyes to the existence of this movement, we felt it as our duty to sound a warning where it could not go unheard.

We have so far dealt with the motive behind the incident in question, and now we must define the extent of our intention.

No Personal Grudge

We bore no personal grudge or malice against anyone of those who received slight injuries or against any other person in the Assembly. On the contrary, we repeat that we hold human life sacred beyond words, and would sooner lay down our own lives in the service of humanity than injure anyone else. Unlike the mercenary soldiers of the imperialist armies who are disciplined to kill without compunction, we respect, and, in so far as it lies in our power, we

attempt to save human life. And still we admit having deliberately thrown the bombs into the Assembly Chamber. Facts, however, speak for themselves and our intention would be judged from the result of the action without bringing in Utopian hypothetical circumstances and presumptions.

No Miracle

Despite the evidence of the Government Expert, the bombs that were thrown in the Assembly Chamber resulted in slight abrasions to an empty bench and some slight damage to less than half a dozen cases, while Government scientist and experts have ascribed this result to a miracle, we see nothing but a precisely scientific process in all this incident. Firstly, the two bombs exploded in vacant space within the wooden barriers of the desks and benches, secondly, even those who were within 2 feet of the explosion, for instant, Mr. P. Rau, Mr. Shankar Rao and Sir George Schuster were either not hurt or only slightly scratched. Bombs of the capacity deposed to by the Government Expert (though his estimate, being imaginary is exaggerated), loaded with an effective charge of potassium chlorate and sensitive (explosive) picarate would have smashed the barriers and laid many low within some yards of the explosion.

Again, had they been loaded with some other high explosive, with a charge of destructive pellets or darts, they would have sufficed to wipe out a majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly. Still again we could have flung them into the official box which was occupied by some notable persons. And finally we could have ambushed Sir John Simon whose luckless Commission was loathed by all responsible people and who was sitting in the President's gallery at the time. All these things, however, were beyond our intention and bombs did no more than they were designed to do, and the miracle consisted in no more than the deliberate aim which landed in safe places.

We then deliberately offered ourselves to bear the penalty for what we had done and to let the imperialist know that by crushing individuals, they cannot kill ideas. By crushing two insignificant units, a nation cannot be crushed. We wanted to emphasize the

historical lesson that letters de cachets and Bastilles could not crush the revolutionary movement in France. Gallows and the Siberian mines could not extinguish the Russian Revolution. Bloody Sunday, and Black and Tans failed to strangle the movement of Irish freedom.

Can ordinances and Safety Bills snuff out the flames of freedom in India? Conspiracy cases, trumped up or discovered and the incarceration of all young men who cherish of a great ideal cannot check the march of revolution. But a timely warning, if not unheeded, can help to prevent loss of life and general sufferings.

We took it upon ourselves to provide this warning and our duty is done.

Bhagat Singh was asked in the lower court what he meant by word "Revolution". In answer to that question, he said "Revolution" does not necessarily involve sanguinary strife nor is there any place in it for individual vendetta. It is not the cult of the bomb and the pistol. By "Revolution" we mean that the present order of things, which is based on manifest injustice, must change. Producers of labourers in spite of being the most necessary element of society are robbed by their exploiters of the fruits of their labour and deprived of their elementary rights. The peasant, who grows corn for all, starves with his family, the weaver who supplies the world market textile fabrics, has not enough to cover his own and his children's bodies, masons, smiths and carpenters who raise magnificent palaces, live like pariahs in the slums. The capitalist and exploiters, the parasites of society, squander millions on their whims. These terrible inequalities and forced disparity of chances are bound to lead to chaos. This state of affairs cannot last long, and it is obvious, that the present order of society in marry-making is on the brink of a volcano.

The whole edifice of this civilization, if not saved in time, shall crumble. A radical change, therefore is necessary and it is the duty of those who realize it to reorganize society on the socialistic basis. Unless this thing is done and the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation is brought to an end, sufferings and carnage with which humanity is threatened today cannot be prevented. All talk of ending war and ushering in an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy.

By "Revolution", we mean the ultimate establishment of an order of society which may not be threatened by such breakdown, and in which the sovereignty of the proletariat should be recognized and a world federation should redeem humanity from the bondage of capitalism and misery of imperial wars.

This is our ideal, and with this ideology as our inspiration, we have given a fair and loud enough warning.

If, however, it goes unheeded and the present system of Government continues to be an impediment in the way of the natural forces that are swelling up, a grim struggle will ensure involving the overthrow of all obstacles, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat to pave the way for the consummation of the ideal of revolution. Revolution is an inalienable right of man kind. Freedom is an imperishable birth of all. Labour is the real sustainer of society. The sovereignty of the people is the ultimate destiny of the workers.

For these ideals, and for this faith, we shall welcome any suffering to which we may be condemned. At the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as an incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause. We are content, we await the advent of Revolution. "Long Live Revolution".

Annexure - III

To

The Special Commissioners,
Lahore Conspiracy Case Tribunal,
Lahore.

Through, The Supdt,
Central Jail,
Lahore.

Sir,

I have just been informed by the jail authorities that the learned court was pleased to pass order on my application dated 11th Aug 30, to the effect that interviews with legal adviser alone may be allowed. I was at a loss to understand the reason of such an order. Why should I not be allowed to see my relatives, when the said interviews are very essential for defence purpose. If the order is meant simply to make a show that the accused are given proper facilities regarding their defence, through in reality nothing of the sort is done, on the contrary the defence is hampered at every step, then all my petitions and representations are useless.

My legal adviser L. Dummi Chand Bar-at-law is in jail. I want to engage a new one which I can not do without the help and advice of my father. Therefore the interview is very essential. I have to consult my father about offering the defence. I want to ascertain how far he can help me in this respect. If interviews will not be allowed, the court

and jail authorities shall stand responsible for the serious consequences that might have to bear for the high handedness.

With no stretch of imagination can I understand as to why should the court of law join hands with the executive in such matters as are immediately concerned with the administration of justice and be a part to the unnecessary harassment of the accused.

I most earnestly request the court to reconsider their orders passed on my said application and to issue instructions to the jail authorities to allow all my interviews, so long as the trial is going on, they shall have time enough to treat us as they like after conviction.

Hoping to be favoured with an early decision.

Dt. 15th Aug' 30.

Yours Etc
Sd/
(Bhagat Singh)
Convict Under trial

Annexure - IV

Petition dated 20th September, 1930 by Sardar Kishan Singh to the Special Tribunal

Petition of Sardar Kishan Singh, father of Bhagat Singh, accused:

In this case, the accused person wanted to produce defence evidence after the perusal of the prosecution evidence. They wanted time to find out the material from the prosecution evidence because they could not produce the defence evidence without fully knowing what they had to meet. The time asked for was about a week, but the Hon'ble Members of the Tribunal, for the reasons best known to them, refused to allow the time. I, therefore, beg to submit the following points for the consideration of the Hon'ble Judges:

1. No reliance should be placed on the evidence of the alleged eye witnesses, for when Bhagat Singh was brought from Delhi to Lahore during the course of the investigation of this murder case of Mr. Saunders, he was not taken to the Central Jail or the Borstal Institution where the prosecution witness could have an opportunity to see him before the formal identification parade held by the Magistrate at the Lahore Cantonment police station. The distance between the Lahore Cantonment Police Station and the Central Jail is only 2 miles Bhagat Singh could very easily have been brought to the Central Jail, and the identification parade could have been held there. At the Cantonment Police Station, the witnesses

were procured by the investigating staff, and the Magistrate, who had to hold the identification parade was also sent by the investigating staff. There could be no other object of the police to go out the way, and to arrange the identification parade at the Cantonment Police Station than to give an opportunity to the witnesses to see Bhagat Singh before the farce of an identification parade. I at once made an application to the District Magistrate, Lahore that identification parade was of no value and referred 21 P.W.R. 19, 1917 (Cr. Ruling) in that application drawing the attention of the learned District Magistrate to this abnormal conduct of the investigating officer. It has been clearly laid down by the Punjab High Court that the evidence of identification is considerably decreased, if the witnesses get an opportunity to see the accused person before holding the identification parade. That application of mine was published in the local newspapers Milap and very probably in The Tribune. No weight, therefore, should be attached to the evidence of those witnesses, who identified Bhagat Singh at the identification parade. You, yourselves, are great Judge and presumably read the newspapers. Photos of Bhagat Singh were published in almost all the newspapers of India after the 'Assembly Bomb Case', and the witnesses should be presumed to have seen these photographs of Bhagat Singh before the present identification parade took place.

2. There is no manner of doubt that Mr. Pearne, European gentleman and Traffic Inspector of Police, who had plenty of opportunity to see the real criminals, could not identify the culprits. This man being a Traffic Inspector had developed his sense of identifying the natives by virtue of his profession and calling in life. He could not pick out Bhagat but it is curious that Ganda Singh, Head Constable, and a Naib Court Police Constable and other witnesses, who were accidentally present on the spot, could spot Bhagat Singh. It means that accused was shown to those witnesses before the identification parade.
3. No reliance be placed on the evidence of the approvers in this

case, because the provisions of Sec. 167, Clause (iii) of the Cr. P. Code have been abused by the Magistrate in remanding the accused persons to police custody. Bhagat Singh and other persons, who have been admitted or likely to be admitted as approvers were, kept in the police custody in the Lahore Fort and other different police lock-ups for about 3 months continuously. They were not shown the air of the world. Magistrate extraordinarily went over to the lock-ups and remanded the accused persons for fortnights. Instead of being the governors of the police, they were at the beck and call of the police. The object of taking remands in this extraordinary way was that the public might not come to know what grievances the accused persons, who were confined in the strange lock-ups, made before the Magistrate at the time of the remands. Presumably, the police did not want any legal practitioner to contend before the Magistrate at the time of the remands that there are no sufficient reasons for further remanding the accused persons to police custody. The accused persons had no opportunity to know the reasons for which the British subjects were being detained by the police. In 90 days, any amount of evidence can be prepared; the accused persons confined can be made to talk by the notorious methods of the police well known to courts. In Z.C.W.N. page 457, the Hon'ble Judges of the Calcutta High Court have held that the evidence of the accused person, who has confessed and has been admitted or is likely to be admitted as approver, and who has been detained in the police custody up to the time of the trial, is open to the greatest suspicion that the police have arranged his statements so as to fit in with any evidence that they may have obtained elsewhere.

About 100 persons, including the Superintendent Police, Deputy Superintendent, Inspectors, were on the investigating staff in this case. They were the officers of the C.I.D. and the local Police Board vying one another to contribute some material evidence in this case. It is for the protection of the accused persons and to prevent the fabrication of false

evidence in this case that Sec. 167 Cr. P.C. and other similar sections were enacted. In 90 days, even stones can be pulverized into smooth powder. In this case, the accused persons were boys of easy living habits and delicate nature. They could be very easily rehearsed and drilled for a theatrical representation. The C.I.D. keeps record of suspicious persons and their activities, they are in possession of the seditious literature, and have got inter-provincial communications in the country. They could very easily get the seditious literature and the prescriptions (formulae) for bomb-making and fit in the statement of the approvers purchasing their immunity at the sacrifice of the lives of others. And the fiction appears to be more real than the truth. The officers investigating the case, like the experienced craftsmen and engineers, have built up a structure by violations of the remand law. I, therefore, pray that the orders of the remands may kindly be perused at the time of weighing the evidence of the approvers. These persons were certainly kept and detained by the police without any sufficient reasons against the Punjab Chief Court Ruling No. 24 of 1902 Cr. No person can be detained in police custody without the commencement of the trial for more than 15 days. The law protects the accused persons.

4. The witnesses for the prosecution appeared at a very late stage of the investigation and in this country witnesses can be procured and they come forward to give evidence in order to achieve their own private ends, and the police officer investigating big cases did get witnesses from their friends and hangers-on to corroborate the approvers. Sec. 179 Cr. P. Code has been made to take the assistance of the Police diaries to find out the dates on which their statements were recorded by the police. It is also essential for the prosecution to reveal before the Tribunal, how all the witnesses were traced out. I, therefore, pray to the court to see whether it had been done or not.

It is, therefore, in this case that the accused persons have not cross-examined the prosecution witnesses, but the Bench is composed

of judges of experience. They themselves should apply the test for testing the veracity of the witnesses. Bhagat Singh was in Calcutta on the day of the occurrence and he actually wrote and dispatched a letter to one, Ram Lal, Manager of the Khaddar Bhandar, Pari Mahal, Lahore, which was duly received by him. There are respectable gentlemen to swear that Bhagat Singh was in Calcutta on the day of the occurrence. I can produce them if I am given an opportunity, according to justice, or they may be called as court witnesses in the interest of justice, equity and good conscience. The question in this case is of life and death. The right of defence is to be jealously preserved for the accused. If an opportunity of defence would have been given. I would have exposed, according to the Evidence Act Sec.155, who the witnesses for the prosecution are, and what is their position in life, and what are their objects in giving the evidence, when and how they were made witnesses, I still humbly pray that Bhagat Singh may be given an opportunity to produce his defence.

Dated
20th September, 1930

Kishan Singh
Father of Bhagat Singh, Accused
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore

Annexure – V

The Philosophy of the Bomb

RECENT EVENTS, PARTICULARLY THE CONGRESS resolution on the attempt to blow up the Viceregal Special on the 23 December, 1929, and Gandhi's subsequent writings in Young India, clearly show that the Indian National Congress, in conjunction with Gandhi, has launched a crusade against the revolutionaries. A great amount of public criticism, both from the press and the platform, has been made against them. It is a pity that they have all along been, either deliberately or due to sheer ignorance, misrepresented and misunderstood. The revolutionaries do not shun criticism and public scrutiny of their ideals or action. They rather welcome these as chances of making those understand, who have a genuine desire to do so, the basic principles of the revolutionary movement and the high and noble ideals that are a perennial source of inspiration and strength to it. It is hoped that this article will help the general public to know the revolutionaries as they are and will prevent it from taking them for what interested and ignorant persons would have it believe them to be.

VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE

Let us, first of all, take up the question of violence and non-violence. We think that the use of these terms in itself is a grave injustice to either party, for they express the ideals of neither of them

correctly. Violence is physical force applied for committing injustice, and that is certainly not what the revolutionaries stand for. On the other hand, what generally goes by the name of non-violence is in reality the theory of soul force applied to the attainment of personal and national rights through courting, suffering and hoping thus to finally convert your opponent to your point of view. When a revolutionary believe certain things to be his right he asks for them, pleads for them, argues for them, wills to attain them with all the soul-force at his command, stands the greatest amount of suffering for them, is always prepared to make the highest sacrifice for their attainment, and also backs his efforts with all the physical force. You may coin what other word you like to describe his methods, but you cannot call it violence, because that would constitute an outrage on the dictionary meaning of that word. Satyagraha is insistence upon truth. Why press, for the acceptance of truth, by soul-force alone? Why not add physical force also to it? While the revolutionaries stand for winning independence by all the forces, physical as well as moral, at their command, the advocates of our soul-force would like to ban the use of physical force. The question really, therefore, is not whether you will have violence, but whether you will have soul-force plus physical force or soul-force alone.

OUR IDEAL

THE REVOLUTIONARIES believe that the deliverance of their country will come through revolution. The revolution, they are constantly working and hoping for, will not only express itself in the form of an armed conflict between the foreign government and its supporters and the people, it will also usher in a new social order. The revolution will ring the death knell of capitalism and class distinctions and privileges. It will bring joy and prosperity to the starving millions who are seething today under the terrible yoke of both foreign and Indian exploitation. It will bring the nation into its own. It will give birth to a new state—a new social order. Above all, it will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and will for ever banish social parasites from the seat of political power.

TERRORISM

THE REVOLUTIONARIES already see the advent of the revolution in the restlessness of youth, in its desire to break free from the mental bondage and religious superstitions that hold them. As the youth will get more and more saturated with the psychology of revolution, it will come to have a clear realization of national bondage and a growing, intense, unquenchable thirst for freedom. It will grow, this feeling of bondage, this insatiable desire for freedom, till, in their righteous anger, the infuriated youth will begin to kill the oppressors. Thus has terrorism been born in the country. It is a phase, a necessary, an inevitable phase of the revolution. Terrorism is not the complete revolution and the revolution is not complete without terrorism. This thesis can be supported by an analysis of any and every revolution in history. Terrorism instills fear in the hearts of the oppressors. It brings hopes to revenge and redemption to the oppressed masses. It gives courage and self-confidence to the wavering, it shatters the spell of the superiority of the ruling class and raises the status of the subject race in the eyes of the world, because it is the most convincing proof of a nation's hunger for freedom. Here is India, as in other countries in the past, terrorism will develop into the revolution and the revolution into independent, social, political and economic.

REVOLUTIONARY METHODS

THIS THEN is what the revolutionaries believe in, that is what they hope to accomplish for their country. They are doing it both openly and secretly, and in their own way. The experience of a century long and world-wide struggle, between the masses and the governing class, is their guide to their goal, and the methods they are following have never been known to have failed.

THE CONGRESS AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES

MEANWHILE, WHAT has the Congress been doing? It has changed its creed from Swaraj to Complete Independence. As a logical sequence to this, one would expect it to declare a war on the British government. Instead, we find, it has declared war against the revolutionaries. The first offensive of the Congress came in the form

of a resolution deploring the attempt made on the 23 December, 1929, to blow up the Viceroy's Special. It was drafted by Gandhi and he fought tooth and nail for it, with result that was passed by a trifling majority of 81 in a house of 1,713. Was even this bare majority a result of honest political convictions? Let us quote the opinion of Sarla Devi Chaudharani, who has been a devotee of the Congress all her life, in reply. She says: "I discovered in the course of my conversations with a good many of the Mahatma's followers that it was only their sense of personal loyalty to him that was keeping them back from an expression of the independent views and preventing them from voting against any resolution whatsoever that was fathered by Mahatmajji". As to Gandhi's arguments in favour of this proposition, we will deal with them later, when we discuss his article "The Cult of the Bomb" which is more or less an amplification of his speech in the Congress. There is one fact about this deplorable resolution which we must not lose sight of, and that is this. In spite of the fact, that the Congress is pledged to non-violence and has been actively engaged in carrying on propaganda in its favour for the last ten years, and in spite of the fact also that the supporters of the resolution indulged in abuse, called the revolutionaries 'cowards' and described their actions as 'dastardly' — and one of them even threatening remarked that if they wanted to be led by Gandhi, they should pass this resolution without any opposition—in spite of all this, the resolution could only be adopted by a dangerously large majority. That demonstrates, beyond the shadow of a doubt, how solidly the country is backing the revolutionaries. In a way Gandhi deserved our thanks for having brought the question up for discussion and thus having shown to the world at large that even the Congress— that stronghold of non-violence— is at least as much, if not more, with the revolutionaries as with him.

GANDHI ON WAR PATH

HAVING ACHIEVED a victory which cost him more than a defeat, Gandhi has returned to the attack in his article *The Cult of the Bomb*. We will give it our closest attention before proceeding further. That article consists of three things—his faith, his opinion and his arguments. We will not discuss what a matter of faith with him is

because reason has little in common with faith. Let us then take such of his opinion as are backed by arguments and his arguments proper, against what he calls violence and discuss them one by one.

DO THE MASSES BELIEVE IN NON-VIOLENCE

HE THINKS that on the basis of his experience during his latest tour in the country, he is right in believing that the large masses of Indian humanity are yet untouched by the spirit of violence and that non-violence has come to stay as a political weapon. Let him not delude himself on the experience of his latest tour in the country. Though it is true that the average leader confines his tours to places where only the mail train can conveniently land him while Gandhi has extended his tour limit to where a motorcar can take him, the practice of staying only with the richest people in the places visited, of spending most of his time on being complimented by his devotees in private and public, and of granting Darshan now and then to the illiterate masses whom he claims to understand so well, disqualifies him from claiming to know the mind of the masses. No man can claim to know a people's mind by seeing them from the public platform and giving them Darshan and Updesh. He can at the most claim to have told the masses what he thinks about things. Has Gandhi, during recent years, mixed in the social life of the masses? Has he sat with the peasant round the evening fire and tried to know what he thinks? Has he passed a single evening in the company of a factory labourer and shared with his woes?(sic). We have, and therefore we claim to know what the masses think. We assure Gandhi that the average Indian, like the average human being, understands little of the fine theological niceties about Ahimsa and loving one's enemy. The way of the world is like this. You have a friend: you love him, sometimes so much that you even die for him. You have an enemy: you shun him; you fight against him and, if possible, kill him. The gospel of the revolutionaries is simple and straight. It is what has been since the days of Adam and Eve, and no man has any difficulty about understanding it. We affirm that the masses of India are solidly with us because we know it from personal experience. The day is not far off when they will flock in their thousands to work the will of the Revolution.

THE GOSPEL OF LOVE

GANDHI DECLARES that his faith in the efficacy of non-violence has increased. That is to say, he believes more and more, that through his gospel of love and self-imposed suffering, he hopes someday to convert the foreign rulers to his way of thinking. Now, he has devoted his whole life to the preaching of his wonderful gospel and has practiced it with unwavering constance,(sic) as few other have done. Will he let the world how many enemies of India he has been able to turn into friends? How many O'Dwyers, Readings and Irwins has he been able to convert into friends of India? If none, how can India be expected to share his 'growing faith' that he will be able to persuade or compel England to agree to Indian Independence through the practice of non-violence?

WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED

IF THE bomb that burst under the Viceroy's Special had exploded properly, one of the two things suggested by Gandhi would have surely happened. The Viceroy would have either been badly injured or killed. Under such circumstances there certainly would have been no meeting between the leaders of political parties and the Viceroy. The uncalled for and undignified attempt on the part of these individuals, to lower the national prestige by knocking at the gates of the government house with the beggar's bowl in their hands and dominion on their lips, in spite of the clear terms of the Calcutta Ultimatum, would have been checkmated and the nation would have been the better off for that. If, fortunately, the explosion had been powerful enough to kill the Viceroy, one more enemy of India would have met a well deserved doom. The author of the Meerut prosecutions and the Lahore and Bhusawal persecutions can appear a friend of India only to the enemies of her freedom. In spite of Gandhi and Nehru and their claims to political sagacity and statesmanship, Irwin has succeeded in shattering the unity between different political parties in the country that had resulted from the boycott of the Simon Commission. Even the Congress today is a house divided against itself. Who else, except the Viceroy and his olive tongue, have we to thank for our grave misfortunes? And yet, there exist people in our country who proclaim him a Friend of India.

THE FUTURE OF THE CONGRESS

THERE MIGHT be those who have no regard for the Congress and hope nothing from it. If Gandhi thinks that the revolutionaries belong to the category, he wrongs them grievously. They fully realize the part played by the Congress in awakening among the ignorant masses a keen desire for freedom. They expect great things of it in the future. Though they hold firmly to their opinion, that so long as person like Sen Gupta whose wonderful intelligence compels him to discern the hand of the CID in the late attempt to blow up the Viceroy Special, and persons like Ansari, who think abuse the better part of argument and know so little of politics as to make ridiculous and fallacious that no nation had achieved freedom by the bomb, have a determining voice in the affairs of the Congress, the country can hope little from it; they are hopefully looking forward to the day, when the mania of non- violence would have passed away from the Congress, and it would march arm in arm with the revolutionaries to their common goal of complete Independence. This year, it has accepted the ideal which the revolutionaries have preached and lived up to more than a quarter of a century. Let us hope the next year will see it endorse their methods also.

VIOLENCE AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE

GANDHI IS OF opinion that as violence has been practiced in the country, it has resulted in an increase of military expenditure. If this reference is to revolutionary activities during the last twenty-five years we dispute the accuracy of his statement and challenge him to prove his statement with facts and figures. If, on the other hand, he had the wars that have taken place in India since the British came here in mind, our reply is that even his modest experiment in Ahimsa and Satyagraha which had little to compare in it with the wars for Independence produced its effect on the finances of the bureaucracy. Mass action, whether violent of non-violent, whether successful or unsuccessful, is bound to produce the same kind of repercussion on the finances of a state.

THE REFORMS

WHY SHOULD Gandhi mix up the revolutionaries with the various constitutional reforms granted by the government? They never cared or worked for the Morely-Minto Reforms, Montague Reforms and the like. These the British government threw before the constitutionalist agitators to lure them away from the right path. This was the bribe paid to them for their support to the government in its policy of crushing and uprooting the revolutionaries. These toys— as Gandhi calls them— were sent to India for the benefit of those, who from time to time, raised the cry of 'Home Rule', 'Self-Government', 'Responsible', 'Full Responsible Government', 'Dominion Status' and such other constitutional names for slavery. The revolutionaries never claim the Reforms as their achievements. They raised the standard of independence long ago. They have lived for it. They have ungrudgingly laid their lives down for the sake of this ideal. They claim that their sacrifice have produced a tremendous change in the mentality of the people. That their efforts have advanced the country a long way on the road to independence is granted by even those who do not eye to eye with them in politics.

THE WAY OF PROGRESS

AS TO Gandhi's contention that violence impedes the march of progress and thus directly postpones the day of freedom, we can refer him to so many contemporary instances where violence has led to the social progress and political freedom of the people who practiced it. Take the case of Russia and Turkey for example. In both the countries the party for progress took over the state organization through an armed revolution. Yet social progress and political freedom have not been impeded. Legislation, backed by force, has made the masses go 'double march' on the road of progress. The solitary example of Afghanistan cannot establish a political formula. It is rather the exception that proves the rule.

FAILURE OF NON-COOPERATION

GANDHI IS of opinion that the great awakening in the people, during The days of non-cooperation, was a result of the preaching of

non-violence. It is wrong to assign to non-violence the widespread awakening of the masses which, in fact, is manifested wherever a programme of direct action is adopted. In Russia, for instance, there came about widespread awakening in the peasants and workers when the communists launched forth their great programme of Militant Mass Action, nobody preached non-violence to them. We will even go further and state that it was mainly the mania for non-violence and Gandhi's compromise mentality that brought about the disruption of the forces that had come together at the call of Mass Action. It is claimed that non-violence can be used as a weapon for righting political wrongs. To say the least, it is a novel idea, yet untried. It failed to achieve what were considered to be the just rights of Indians in South Africa. It failed to bring 'Swaraj within a year' to the Indian masses in spite of the untiring labours of an army of national workers and one and a quarter crores of rupees. More recently, it failed to win for the Bardoli peasants what the leaders of the Satyagraha movement had promised them—the famous irreducible minimum of Gandhi and Patel. We know of no other trials non-violence has had on a country-wide scale. Up to this time non-violence has been blessed with one result—Failure. Little wonder, then that the country refuses to give it another trial. In fact Satyagraha as preached by Gandhi is a form of agitation—a protest, leading up invariably, as has already been seen, to a compromise. It can hardly be of any use to a nation striving for national Independence which can never come as the result of a compromise. The sooner we recognize that there can be no compromise between independence and slavery, the better.

IS IT A NEW ERA

'WE ARE entering upon a new era', thinks Gandhi. The mere act of defining Swaraj as Complete Independence, this technical change in the Congress constitution, can hardly constitute a new era. It will be a great day indeed when the Congress will decide upon a country-wide programme of Mass Action, based on well recognized revolutionary principles. Till then the unfurling of the flag of Independence is a mockery and we concur with the following remarks of Sarla Devi Chaudhrani which she recently made in a press interview.

“The unfurling of the Flag of Independence”, she says, “at just one minute after midnight of 31 December, 1929, was too stagy for words – just as the GOC and the assistant GOC and others in gaudy uniforms were board Grand Officers Commanding.”

“The fact that the unfurling of the flag of Independence lay hanging in the balance till midnight of that date, and that the scales might have been turned at even the eleventh hour fiftyninth minute had a message from the Viceroy or the Secretary of State come to the Congress granting Dominion Status, proves that Independence is not a heart hunger (sic) of the leaders but that the declaration of it is only like a petulant child’s retort. It would have been a worthy action of the Indian National Congress if Independence was achieved first and declared afterwards”. It is true that the Congress orators will henceforth harangue the masses on complete Independence instead of Dominion Status. They will call upon the people for a struggle in which one party is to deliver blow and the other is simply to receive them, till beaten and demoralized beyond hope of recovery. Can such a thing be named a struggle and can it ever lead the country to complete Independence? It is all very well to hold fast to the highest ideal worthy of a nation, but it is nonetheless necessary to adopt the best, the most efficacious and tried to achieve it, are you became the laughing stock of the whole world

NO BULLYING PLEASE

GANDHI HAS called upon all those who are not past reason to withdraw their support from the revolutionaries and condemn their actions so that “our deluded patriots may, for want of nourishment to their violent spirit, realize the futility of violence and the great harm that violent activities have every time done”. How easy and convenient it is to call people deluded, to declare them to be reason, to call upon the public to withdraw its support and condemn them so that they may isolated and be forced to suspend their activities, specially when a man holds the confidence of an influential section of the public. It is a pity that Gandhi does not and will not understand revolutionary psychology in spite of the life-long experience of public life is a precious thing. It is clear to everyone. If a man become a revolutionary, if he goes about with his life in

the hollow of his hand ready to sacrifice it at any moment, he does not do so merely for the fun of it. He does not risk his life merely because sometimes, when the crowd is in a sympathetic mood, it cries 'Bravo' in appreciation. He does it because his reason forces him to take that course, because his conscience dictates it. A revolutionary believes in reason more than anything. It is to reason alone, that he bows. No amount of abuse and condemnation, even if it emanates from the highest of the high can turn him from his set purpose. To think that a revolutionary will give up his ideas if public support and appreciation is withdrawn from him, is the highest folly. Many a revolutionary has, ere now, stepped on the scaffold and laid his life down for the cause, regardless of the curses that the constitutionalist agitators rained plentifully upon him. If you will have the revolutionaries suspend their activities, reason with them squarely. That is the one and the only way. For the rest let there be no doubt in anybody's mind. A revolutionary is the last person on earth to submit to bullying.

AN APPEAL

WE TAKE this opportunity to appeal to our countrymen—to the youth, to workers and peasants, to the revolutionary intelligentsia—to come forward and join us in carrying aloft the banner of freedom. Let us establish a new order of society in which political and economic exploitation will be impossibility. In the name of those gallant men and women who willingly accepted death so that we, their descendants, may lead a happier life, who toiled ceaselessly and perished for the poor, the famished, and exploited millions of India, we call upon every patriot to take up the flight in all seriousness. Let nobody toy with the nation's freedom which is her very life, by making psychological experiments in non-violence and such other novelties. Our slavery is our shame. When shall we have courage and wisdom enough to be able to shake ourselves free of it? What is our great heritage of civilization and culture worth if we have not enough self-respect left in us to prevent us from bowing surveillance to the commands of foreigners and paying homage to their flag and kind?

VICTORY OR DEATH

THERE IS no crime that Britain has not committed in India. Deliberate misrule has reduced us to paupers, has 'bled us white'. As a race and a people we stand dishonoured and outraged. Do people still expect us to forget and to forgive? We shall have our revenge—a people's righteous revenge on the tyrant. Let cowards fall back and cringe for compromise and peace. We ask not for mercy and we give no quarter. Ours is a war to the end—to Victory or Death.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTION

President,
Hindustan Socialist Republican Association.

Annexure – VI

GANDHI'S LETTER TO IRWIN

1 Daryaganj, Delhi,
March 23, 1931

Dear Friend,

It seems cruel to inflict this letter on you, but the interest of peace demands a final appeal. Though you were frank enough to tell me that there was little hope of your commuting the sentence of death on Bhagat Singh and two others, you said you would consider my submission of Saturday. Dr. Sapru met me yesterday and said that you were troubled over the matter and taxing your brain as to the proper course to adopt. If there is any room left for reconsideration, I invite your attention to the following.

Popular opinion rightly or wrongly demands commutation. When there is no principle at stake, it is often a duty to respect it.

In the present case the chances are that, if commutation is granted, internal peace is most likely to be promoted. In the event of execution, peace is undoubtedly in danger.

Seeing that I am able to inform you that the revolutionary party has assured me that, in the event of these lives being spared, that party will stay its hands, suspension of sentence pending cessation of

revolutionary murders becomes in my opinion a peremptory duty.

Political murders have been condoned before now. It is worth while saving these lives, if thereby many other innocent lives are likely to be saved and may be even revolutionary crime almost stamped out.

Since you seem to value my influence such as it is in favour of peace, do not please unnecessarily make my position, difficult as it is, almost too difficult for future work.

Execution is an irretrievable act. If you think there is the slightest chance of error of judgement, I would urge you to suspend for further review an act that is beyond recall.

If my presence is necessary, I can come. Though I may not speak. I may hear and write what I want to say.

“Charity never faileth”.

-
1. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol XLV, (December 1930-April 1931), pp 333-334
 2. Being Monday, a silence day. On the very day in his letter superscribed “confidential” the Viceroy wrote: “ I have again thought very carefully over everything that you have said — and the last thing I should wish to do would be to make you r task, especially at this juncture, more difficult. But I am afraid, for the reasons I sought to explain fully to you in conversation. I cannot see my way to feel that it would be right to take action your request....”.

Annexure - VII

GANDHI'S VIEWS ON EXECUTIONS

Bhagat Singh and his companions have been executed and have become martyrs. Their death seems to have been a personal loss to many. I join in the tributes paid to the memory of these young men. And yet I must warn the youth of the country against following their example. We should not utilize our energy, our spirit of sacrifice, our labours and our indomitable courage in the way they have utilized theirs. This country must not be liberated through bloodshed.

About the Government I cannot help feeling that it has missed a golden opportunity, to win over the rebels to its side. At least from the point of view of the settlement, it was its duty to postpone indefinitely the carrying out of the death sentences. The Government has by its own act dealt a severe blow in the settlement and has shown its capacity to disregard public opinion once again and to exhibit the great brute strength it possesses.

The reliance on violence is perhaps ominous and it suggests that in spite of high-sounding and pious proclamations, it does not want to part with power. But the people's duty is clear.

The Congress must not swerve from the path it has chalked out for itself. According to my view, notwithstanding the gravest provocation the Congress should endorse the settlement and test its capacity to secure the result hoped for.

We must not put ourselves in the wrong by getting angry. We must realize that commutation of the sentences was not a part of the truce. We may accuse the Government of violence but we cannot accuse it of breach of the settlement. It is my conviction that the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power to win freedom and Bhagat Singh and his comrades have embraced death the refer. Let us not throw away this opportunity by doing anything in anger. It is beyond dispute that there will be a general strike and we cannot honour the deceased patriots better than by taking out absolutely peaceful and dignified processions.

-
1. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol XLV (December 1930–April 1931), pp. 335- 36.

Annexure - VIII

Text of the Complaint

The following is the text of the complaint filed by Hamilton Harding, Senior Superintendent of Police, in the Court of R.S. Pandit Sri. Krishan, Special Magistrate, against the following accused:

1. Sukh Dev alias Dayal, alias Swami alias Villager, son of Ram Lal, caste Thapar Khatri of Mohalla Arya Samaj, Lyallpur.
2. Kishori Lal Rattan, alias Deo Datt Rattan, alias Mast Ram Shastri, son of Raghubar Dutt, caste Brahman of Dharampur, P.S. Hajipur, District Hoshiarpur.
3. Agya Ram alias Masterji, son of Nand Lal Brahman of Lalla P.S. Killa Sobha Singh, District Sialkot
4. Des Raj son of Ram Kishen caste Khatri of Belgan P.S. Sambrial, District Sialkot.
5. Prem Dutt alias Master alias Amrit Lal, son of Ram Datt Khatri of Gujarat.
6. Surinddra Nath Pandey alias Stone, son of Hira Lal Pandey, Brahman, resident of Mohalla Sabzimandi, Cawnpure.
7. Jai Dev alias Harish Chander, son of Babu Salig Ram, caste Khatri, Kapur, Sadar Bazar, Hardoi.
8. Shiv Varma alias Parbhat alias Narain alias Ram Narain,

Kapur son of Kanhiya Lal Varma, Khatri of Hardoi.

9. Gaya Prashad alias Dr. B.S. Nigam, Ram Lal alias Ram Nath alias Desh Bhagat, caste Kurmi, resident of Khajuri Khurd, P.S. Billhaur, Distric Cawnpore.
10. Jatindra Nath Das, son of Banke Behari Das of 30 Dohar Road, Calcutta.
11. Mahabir Singh alias Partab of Shahpur Thela P.S. Rajaka Rampur Distric Etah.
12. Bhagat Singh, son of Kishan Singh of Khatasrian, Lahore.
13. Batukeshwar Dutt alias Batta alias Mohan, son of G.D. Dutt of Bedwan.
14. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh alias Negro-General, son of Dr. Ghosh of Cawnpore.
15. Sachindra Nath Sanyal, alias Jatin Sanyal, son of Hari Nath Sanyal, Mohalla Colonel Ganj, Allahabad.
16. Kamal Nath Trivedi, alias Kanwal Nath Tewari, student of Vidya Sagar College, Calcutta, son of Suraj Nath Tewari of Suraya P.S. Gobindpur.
17. Chandra Shekhar Azad alias Panditji, son of Baij Nath, alias Sita Ram, Brahman of Baijnath Tule P.S. Bhilpur, Benares.
18. Bejoy Kumar Sinha alias Bachu, son of Markala Kumar Sinha of Mohalla Karachi Ganj, Cawnpore.
19. Kailash Patti alias Kali Charan, son of Hardo Narain Kayasth of Mongrawan P.S. Ghamipur, District Azamgarh, at present residing at Gorakhpur.
20. Raghunath alias 'M' alias Ram Guru of Benares.
21. Bhagwati Charan alias B.C. Vohra, son of Rai Sahib Shiv Charan Das, caste Brahman of Lahore.
22. Kundan Lal alias Partap alias Ni.1 of Benares U.P.
23. Kálash alias Gunthala of Jhansi.
24. Yashpal, son of Hira Lal, Khatri of Nidhan P.S. Hamirpur District Kangra, now residing at Wachowali, Lahore.

25. Satmurdyal, son of Pandit Sukhbasi Lal Avasthi, caste Brahman of Mohalla Dana Khori, Cawnpore.

The complaint is filed under Section 121, 121A, 122 and 123 of the Indian Penal Code.

The Complainant respectfully sheweth

1. That the accused above mentioned along with others have at Lahore and other places in British India at various times and occasions commencing from the year 1924 and continuing upto the present time of their arrest been engaged in a conspiracy to wage war against His Majesty the King Emperor and to deprive him of the sovereignty of British India and to overawe by criminal force, the Government established by law in British India and to collect men, arms and ammunitions for or otherwise to make preparation for the said object and purpose.
2. They further concealed the existence of a design to wage war against the King Emperor intending by such concealment to facilitate or knowing it to be likely that such concealment would facilitate the waging such war.
3. With these objections as mentioned in paras I and II above these accused along with others formed a party known as the Hindustan Republican Association and Indian Republican Army and held their meeting at Lahore and other places in British India with a view to overthrow by force the Government established by law in India and to establish a Federated Republican Government in its stead.
4. That the means devised to be adopted to attain these objects were as follows:
 - (i) The collection of arms, men and munitions and also money for the purchase of arms and munitions
 - (ii) The obtaining of money for the same purpose by means of forcing and robbing banks and treasuries and dacoity which necessarily involved murders.
 - (iii) The manufacturing of explosive for the purpose of murder and to overawe Government.

- (iv) Murders of Police and other officials and persons interested in or the Government of British India or the persons who obstructed the carrying out of object of the conspiracy and persons who proved obnoxious to their party.
 - (v) The blowing up of trains.
 - (vi) The production, possession and circulating of seditious and revolutionary literature.
 - (vii) The rescue of convicts and persons in lawful custody.
 - (viii) The seduction of educated youths with a view to enlist them in the conspiracy.
 - (ix) To obtain renewal and subscriptions among persons in foreign countries who were interested in the accomplishment of revolution in India.
- 5
- (i) An attempt was made to murder Mr. Banerji, Inspector C.I.D. at Banaras on 13.1.1928.
 - (ii) An embezzlement of Rs.3, 199 was committed by Kalash Patti alias Kali Charan an absconder who was an employee in the sub-post office, Burhal Ganj, District Gorakhpur on 26.6.1928 to be utilized by the party in furtherance of their common object.
 - (iii) A dacoity at Punjab National Bank, Lahore was attempted on 4.12.1928.
 - (iv) Mr. Saunders, Assistant Supdt. Of Police and Channan Singh, Head Constable were murdered in Lahore on December 17, 1928.
 - (v) A bomb was thrown in the Assembly Chamber, Delhi and shots were fired therein on 8.4.1929 causing sever injuries to Sir Bomanji Dalal and others.
 - (vi) A dacoity at Maulina was committed on 7.6.1929 causing the death of Dank Mahton Koori owner of the house
 - (vii) The accused along with others were manufacturing bombs at Lahore, Saharanpur, Calcutta and Agra, the

factories at Lahore and Saharanpur having since been captured.

- (viii) The accused visited different towns in British India to Seduce youths and induce them to join their conspiracy
6. That in pursuance of the said conspiracy in British India preparations for the following actions were made but did not succeed.
- (i) To blow up the train carrying members of the Simon Commission by means of dynamite.
 - (ii) To rescue Jagdish Chander Chatterji who was a convict in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy Case and Satindra Nath Sanyal another convict of their party.
7. That accused nos. 17 to 25 are absconding and are still at large.
8. That the order of the local Government under Sec. 196 Criminal Procedure Code, duly signed is attached herewith.
9. That the Complainant is informed that in respect of the other offences committed in pursuance of the conspiracy separate police challans have been presented to this Court.

It is therefore, prayed that the accused abovementioned be tried for and convicted of the offences enumerated above for any offence or offences which they may be proved to have committed.

— The Tribune, July 11, 1929, pp 3-4.

Annexure - IX

The Government Advocate's Speech

The following is the full text of the Government Advocate Carden Noad's opening speech.

There are 32 persons involved in the case of whom 7 are approvers, 9 are absconding and are still at large and 16 are placed on their trial and are present in court. They will be tried under the ordinary law of the land for offences alleged to have been committed by them while evidence will be recorded under Section 512 of the Criminal Procedure Code against the absconding accused.

I desired to emphasize the fact that this is an ordinary trial under ordinary law (though of singular importance) and that these individuals alone are upon their trial. No political action or system is in any way involved. No social religious or educational body or institution is or can be affected by the outcome of this prosecution except so far as it is in their interest of all citizens of a civilized community that offences against the law of the land shall, if proved according to law, be suitably punished.

I wish also to say on behalf of myself and my colleagues, Khan Sahib Kalandar Ali Khan and Mr. Gopal Lal, that we shall do our best to assist the Special Magistrate in giving the accused fair, patient and impartial enquiry and I confidently ask for the cooperation of the learned counsel appearance on behalf of the defence in attaining this

object. It may not be out of place at this stage to recall the occurrence of the murder of Mr. Saunders, ASP and Channan Singh, Head Constable. Two unarmed men were shot down in broad day light in the stress of Lahore on the 17th December, 1928 and the police were unable at that time to apprehend the culprits. Coupled with universal condemnation of this dastardly murder severe criticism was leveled against the police in Council and in the newspapers because of the delay which took place in the detection of the culprits. The Special CID with K.B. Abdul Aziz and his staff all working under the direct instructions and orders of Mr. Stead, Inspector General of Police, have now discovered the facts and are prepared to prove that these murders were committed in pursuance of a widespread conspiracy as a part of a sense of criminal acts and designs of the most serious nature. I am confident that every member of the public will now be interested in seeing that justice is done. I may not be misunderstood. We desire the Court as well as the public to hold the scales evenly between the case of the Crown and the case of the accused now before the court.

Constitution of Revolutionary Party

I should like to give a short summary of the various intentions, designs and acts which form part of the subject matter of the case to be placed before the Court.

The accused above mentioned were members of a revolutionary party which became active throughout Northern India. At a meeting held at Delhi in August 1928, a Central Committee was constituted representing different provinces. In that meeting the following plans and resolutions were adopted and passed.

1. Phomindra Nath approver was elected officer-in-charge of Behar and Orrisa. Sukh Dev and Bhagat Singh accused were to be in charge of the Punjab. Shiv Varma, Bijoy Kumar Sinha and Chandra Shekhar Azad, the last two are absconding, were to be in charge of the United Provinces. Kundan Lal alias Partab absconding was elected for Rajputana and the Central Office. Chandra Shekhar Azad was also to be in charge of the Military Department.
2. It was decided that officers in charge should be held

responsible for any work or action to be accomplished in the Province under their orders and that if any outside assistance were required in any provincial action, the case should be submitted to the Central Committee which would issue final orders.

3. That all matters relating to finance, income and expenditure were to be dealt with by the central body.
4. That all arms and munitions should be placed with the central body to be issued for the use by members of any province wherever and whenever required

Aims and Objects

The main aims and object of this revolutionary party as will be proved by the evidence of witnesses and of documents were as follows:

1. To establish a Republican Government by means of an organization known as the Hindustan Republican Association and Indian Republican Army. For this purpose the policy of non-violence was to be discarded and armed forces organized with a view to overthrow the present Government and to overawe all officials and persons interested in the Administration.
2. To establish a reign of terror by the murder of officials who took a prominent part in such cases as the Kakori Conspiracy Case and other persons who were for various reasons obnoxious to the conspiracy. By such murders it was hoped to obtain the approval and financial support of persons in foreign countries interested in the propagation of revolution in India and such murders were definitely advocated as a means for obtaining funds from abroad.
3. To organise the escape of convicts undergoing sentences in the Jails for complicity in the Kakori conspiracy and similar cases.
4. To raise funds by every possible means by voluntary subscription, or by dacoity or by contributions from abroad.

Money thus collected was to be utilised for purchasing arms, manufacturing bombs and helping the members in spreading their republican propaganda and obtaining recruits throughout India.

5. The seduction of educated youths with a view to enlist them in the Indian Republican Army.

Fictitious Names

Evidence will be led to show in prosecution of the objects of the conspiracy secret meetings were held by the members at different places for the constitution of Committees and for the arrangement of various crimes. The accused were moving about place to place and from province to province under fictitious names some of which were as follows:

Sukh Dev	Dayal, Swami, Vilager.
Kishori Lal Rattan	Dev Dutt, Mast Ram Shastri
Agya Ram	Masterji
Prem Dutt	Master, Amrit Lal
Surinder Nath Pandey	Stone
Jai Dev	Harish Chandar
Shiv Varma	Parbhat, Har Narain, Ram Narain
Gaya Parsad	Dr. B.S. Nigam, Ram Lal, Ram Nath, Desh Bhagat.
Mahabir Singh	Partab
Bhagat Singh	Ranjit
Batukeshwar Dutt	Battu Mohan
Ajoy Kumar Ghosh	Negro-General
Sachindra Nath Sanyal	Sachin Sanyal

Absconders

Chandra Shekhar Azad	Panditji
Bijoy Kumar Sinha	Bachu
Kailash Patti	Kali Charan
Raghunath	'M' Ram Guru
Bhagwati Charan	B.C. Vohra

Kundan Lal
Kailash

Partap, No. 1 of Benares
Gunthala of Jhansi

Approvers

Jai Gopal
Hansraj Vohra
Phomindra Nath Ghosh
Brahm Dutt
Manmohan Banerji

Harbans Lal, Gopal, Krishan Chand
Tarlok Chand
Dada
Manmohan
Manohar Banerji

Overt Acts

The overt acts committed in furtherance of the conspiracy included the following:

1. *Saunders and Channan Singh Murder.* The Committee of the Revolutionary party deputed Jai Gopal, approver, Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, and Raghu Nath; the last two are still absconding, with arms to murder Mr. Scott. The said party of four culprits used to frequent the neighbourhood of the police office with a view to watch Mr. Scott's movements and to know the locality better. It so happened that Mr. Scott did not attend the office for a few days before the occurrence while Mr. Saunders attended the office daily. On 17th December 1928, when Mr. Saunders came out of the office and was about to get on his motorcycle he was shot by culprits in mistake for Mr. Scott. Hearing the report of the shots, Channan Singh, Head Constable, rushed towards the spot, ran and followed the accused when he too was fired at. Mr. Saunders died instantaneously and Channan Singh died shortly after. The culprits after shooting these men ran away.
2. *Assembly Bomb Outrage.* With a view to create terrorism Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were deputed to throw bombs in the Assembly Chamber, Delhi. Consequently, these two accused threw bombs and fired shots in the Assembly Chamber on 8th April 1929 causing sever injuries to Sir Bomanji Dalal and others. Both the culprits were arrested at

the spot and placed on trial with the result that both of them were sentenced to transportation for life.

3. *Dacoity at Punjab National Bank Lahore.* When the course of activities in Lahore was a house in Mozang, a meeting was held at which several of the accused were present. One of the members, namely, Panditji proposed a raid on the Punjab National Bank in order to secure funds. The members who formed a party for this raid were fully equipped with arms and specific duties were assigned to each of them. Bhagat Singh and Partap had to bring a taxi there in order to take away the booty. Consequently all the members detailed for the dacoity arrived on the appointed day, ie, 4th December, 1928 at the premises of the Punjab National Bank and waited for the arrival of Bhagat Singh and Partap. At about 4 p.m. only Partap turned up in a tonga and informed the conspirators that a taxi could not be obtained. The project was then for the time being dropped.
4. *Dacoity at Maulina in Bihar and Orrisa.* In order to raise funds the members of the revolutionary party resolved to commit dacoity at Maulina. With the object in view a dacoity was conducted on 7th June, 1928 in the house of a rich man named Dank Mahton Koori, a Hindu gentleman. The owner of the house was shot and died later on and a quantity of jewellery was taken by the culprits.
5. *Attack on Mr. Bannerji, DSP, CID of UP.* Mr. Bannerji was an officer in the CID of UP who took a leading part in connection with Kakori Conspiracy case. The revolutionary party decided to do away with him and for this purpose two of them, namely Mani Bannerji and Tarak Nath, were deputed. Mani Bennerji happened to meet Bannerji, DSP in Benares on 13th January, 1928 who shot at him with a revolver. Mr. Bannerji got injuries but luckily survived them. Mani Bannerji was arrested, tried and convicted.
6. *An Embezzlement of Rs. 3,199,* Kailash Patti alias Kali Charan, an absconder, who was as employee in the Post Office, Burthal Ganj, District Gorakhpur, was one of the

members of this revolutionary party. He embezzled Rs. 3,199 from that post office on 26th June, 1928 to be utilized by the party in furtherance of their common object.

7. *Manufacture of Bombs.* The revolutionary party learned how to manufacture bombs and during the course of their activities they were manufacturing bombs for the purpose of using them when occasion arose. Members of the conspiracy manufactured bomb at Lahore, Saharanpur, Calcutta and Agra. The factories at Lahore and Saharanpur have since been captured. On search, bombs, revolvers, ammunitions, implements for manufacturing bombs, books on bomb making and various proscribed literature were found. The Saharanpur and Agra cases have also been transferred to this province by order of the Government of India as they form an integral portion of the conspiracy under trial.

Crime not carried out

Certain crimes were discussed and planned by the conspirators but for various reasons not carried out. among them were the following:

1. Proposal to blow up the train carrying the members of the Simon commission by means of dynamite. For want of funds this plan could not be carried out.
2. Proposal to make arrangements for the escape of Jogesh Chandra Chatterji, a convict in connection with the Kakori Conspiracy, and Sachin Sanyal, another convict. These also could not be carried out for want of funds and also because the convicts were well guarded. The conspirators were apparently not prepared to face the personal risk involved.

Having briefly discussed the activities of the accused the next point I will deal with is how the case has been discovered

How the Police Got Information

On the occasion of Dusehra festival in 1928 a bomb was thrown

on a crowd near Roshanai Gate in Lahore, which resulted in numerous death and severe injuries. As a similar outrage on the occasion of the Dusahra festival in 1926 had taken place and the case had remained untraced, the Punjab Government deputed Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Superintendent of Police, Montgomery to investigate this outrage. During the course of investigation of these bomb outrages, it transpired that two ex-student of the Oriental College had been frequenting the Boarding House situated on the 2nd floor of Roshanai Gate, the place where the latter bomb explosion had taken place. Enquiries further showed that these two persons belonged to the Revolutionary Party.

As a result of a statement made by one of them, the police for the first time came to know that Bhagat Singh accused was one of the murderers of Mr. Saunders and that Bhagwati Charan an absconder, a member of Naujawan Bharat Sabha, was his Chief Lieutenant in the Punjab. Bhagat Singh accused could not be found in spite of the fact that strenuous efforts for his arrest were made in the Punjab, UP and Bengal. He suddenly appeared in the Assembly as one of the perpetrators of the Assembly Bomb outrage.

Lahore Bomb Factory

Shortly before these certain persons had engaged some iron moulders of Lahore to make certain oblong implement which on enquiry they stated were intended to be part of gas machine. The curiosity of a local workman was aroused and he happened to mention these facts to a constable of his acquaintance. The information was passed on to the police who instructed their informant to watch the individuals who had given the orders and to follow them to their house. Sukh Dev accused happening to pass by was duly followed to no. 69, Kashmir Building and this house was pointed to the police. The enquiry showed that the tenant of the premises was Bhagwati Charan who has been named as the Chief Lieutenant of Bhagat Singh and of the conspiracy in the Punjab. The house appeared to be locked and empty and a strict watch was kept to ascertain when it was visited. In the meantime information from Delhi showed that the bomb thrown in the Assembly corresponded closely with the description of the alleged oblong gas machine parts. The careful watch kept on the

house eventually resulted in information which led to a raid on 15th April, 1929. Sukh Dev, Jai Gopal and Kishori Lal, accused were captured in the house. From the facts disclosed by these accused the whole history of the revolutionary organization came to light. The lengthy statement of Sukh Dev cannot be referred to by me in this statement except so far as it led to discoveries which render it admissible under the Evidence Act. But it is sufficient to say that from the moment when these accused were captured, information in the possession of the police led them steadily and by regular steps to the unraveling of the whole conspiracy and to the detailed knowledge of its activities which will be placed before the Court in evidence in this case.

The Charges

The charges against the accused will include murder, abetment to murder and conspiracy to murder, conspiracy to revolution and other offences against the State and also offences under the Explosive Substance Act. With regard to offences against the State a complaint has been that in accordance with the requirement of law by the Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore. The facts which I have very briefly mentioned will be fully proved by the evidence which will be laid before the Court.

——The Tribune, July 11, 1929 pp 4 and 13.

Important Events Occurred During the Life of Bhagat Singh

DATE	EVENT
May 7, 1907	Warrants of deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh issued by Govt. of India.
May 9, 1907	Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested by Distt. Police of Lahore and was sent to Mian-Meer jail.
May 15, 1907	Birthday of Sukhdev at Ludhiana father Ram Lal Thapur
June 3, 1907	Sardar Ajit Singh, the Uncle (Chacha) of Bhagat Singh was arrested from Amritsar and was deported to Rangoon (Mandly Jail) now in Myanmar.
June 15-16, 1907	Ajit Singh & Lala Lajpat Rai reached Mandley jail.
July 1907	Father Kishan Singh and younger uncle Sawaran Singh were arrested and lodged in Central jail Lahore.
September 28, 1907	Bhagat Singh born at village Banga, Chak

	No, 105, Tehsil Jarranwala, District Lyalpur. (Now in Pakistan)
October 1, 1907	Father released from Lahore jail and reached village Banga
October 4, 1907	Uncle Ajit Singh also reached Banga after being released on 1 st Oct.
October 7, 1907	Sawaran Singh released on bail from Lahore jail
October 24, 1907	Udham Singh Sunam (alias Ram Mohamad Singh Azad) was admitted to Central Khalsa Orphanage, Amritsar.
August 24, 1908	Raj guru, Shiv Deo Hari Parsad (RAJ GURU) born in Maharashtra.
July 1, 1909	Madan Lal Dhingra shot five bullets on Col. William Curzon Willie, Political ADC in India Office London.
July 23, 1909	The trial of Madan Lal Dhingra started at the Old Baulay Court for murder.
July 24, 1909	The death sentence pronounced.
August 17, 1909	Dhingra was sent to the gallows in London.
March 10, 1910	Veer D. Savarkar was arrested in London and was brought back to India and put up for trial on charge of his links with the militants.
August, 1910	Uncle Sawaran Singh died in the Lahore jail due to the sufferings of sentence.
March 22, 1911	Veer D Sarvarkar was convicted and sentenced to 50 years imprisonment and was transported to Andaman Islands at the age of 28 where he wrote his famous book entitled "Hindutava".

September 1911	Bhagat Singh admitted to District Board Primary School, Banga (Layalpur) at the age of 4 years.
December 15, 1911	Khalsa Diwan Society and United India League had been constituted in Canada.
January 1, 1912	Kartar Singh Sarabha reached San Francisco. (U.S.A.)
May 1912	Family of Bhagat Singh shifted to Lahore at Nawan Kot Locality and Bhagat Singh was admitted to D.A.V. School Lahore City.
October 1912	The elder brother Jagat Singh died.
April 13, 1913	On Baisakhi Day, the Indian Workers Union was formed in United State of AMERICA.
April, 1913	Amar Kaur younger sister born.
May 1, 1913	Michael O'Dwyer took charge of Punjab as lieutenant Governor.
November 1, 1913	A Weekly the "GADDAR" was started first publishing in Urdu by Lala Hardyal, Kartar Singh Sarabha and Santokh Singh in America (U.S.A.)
January 8, 1914	The Punjabi edition of weekly GADDAR also started.
May 23, 1914	The "KAMA-GATA-MARRU" ship reached Vancouver (Canada) but the Canadian authority did not allow it to enter in the Port. Baba Gurdit Singh of Singapore chartered the ship.
July 24, 1914	the Canadian authority sent back the KAMA-GATA-MARRU to India.
September 1914	Kartar Singh Sarabha came back to India via Colombo (Sri Lanka) Chanai (Madras) to

- organize the Gaddar movement in Punjab.
- September 29, 1914 Kama-Gata-Marru ship reached at Calcutta (Kolkata) at Budge-Budge port with over four hundred passenger on board but the British Indian authority did not allow them to disembarked and ultimately police open firing on the Punjabi passengers, causing death of 18 persons
- February 19, 1915 Date of revolt (Gaddar) but could not materialized due to the spy-net work of Britisher. Kirpal Singh Brar was a paid spy (Secret agent) whom the British Government had installed in the heart of the Gaddar Party and he became a member of the inner Cabinet. Thus the whole activities of the Party were known in advance to the Home Department. 52 were hanged to death, more than 120 persons were sent to Kalapani (Andaman Nicobar) for transportation for life.
- November 16, 1915 the youngest Indian Freedom fighter Kartar Singh Sarabha was hanged to death in Lahore Central Jail at the age of 19 years. Bhagat Singh considered him, his political Guru and Icon.
- February 27, 1917 Dr. Mathura Dass, a famous Gaddarist was hanged in Lahore Central Jail.
- October 7, 1917 The first Socialist Revolution of Russia occurred under the leadership of V.I. Lenin.
- July 7, 1918 Wrote a letter to Grandfather.
- January 18, 1919 Rowlet Act was declared
- .March 30, 1919 Call for general strike was given by Mahatma Gandhi against the Rowlet Act.

	Amritsar city observed hartal –Dr. Satyapal & Dr. Kitchlu were arrested.
April 6, 1919.	General strike all over India.
April 9-10, 1919	Ram Naumi (the Birthday of Lord Rama) was celebrated in Amritsar jointly by Hindu, Sikh & Muslims.
April 13, 1919	The massacre of Jallianwala Bagh occurred on Baisakhi day at Amritsar, in which hundred innocents were killed by the British army on the order of General O'Dyer.
April 14, 1919	Udham Singh Sunam went to the Golden Temple and immersed himself in the holy pool of nectar and took a solemn oath to avenge the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy with the blood of O'Dwyer.
April 21, 1919	Martial Law declared in Punjab.
April 13, 1920	First Punjabi Newspaper "AKALI" started its Publication in India.
May 28, 1920	The Hunter Commission's report on the Jallian Wala Bagh Amritsar's Massacre was published.
October 17, 1920	Gandhi visited Punjab (Amritsar City) for the first time.
October 24, 1920	The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) founded at Kanpur.
November 15, 1920	A religious committee (later called as Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee) was constituted with 175 representatives.
November 25-30, 1920	Mahatma Gandhi declared the Non-Co-operation Movement at Annual Session of

	Indian National Congress Party at Nagpur.
December 12, 1920	First Session of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee was held at Amritsar
December 14, 1920	The Akali Dal was established in Amritsar (A political organization of the Sikhs)
February 20, 1921	Massacre of Nankana Sahib (Birth place of Guru Nanak Dev Ji) took place in which the caretaker Mahant Narain Dass burned many Sikh to death. The Britisher was sporting him.
May 20, 1921	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee passed a resolution to adopt the policy of non-co-operation in order to liberate the Gurdwaras
November 7, 1921	Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar took the keys and charge of Sri Akal Takhet, Amritsar, and a Sikh temporal shrine, which originated an agitation called Gurudwara Reform movements.
January 17, 1922	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee won the legal battle of Keys and D.C. Amritsar had surrendered the Keys of Golden Temple to Sikhs-
	Mahatma Gandhi congratulates it as "First battle of Independence, WON"
August 1922	Foundation of New reactionary group by some Sikh young men named CHAKARVATAY JATHA.
22 April 1923	BABAR AKALI started their action to kill the police informers in Doaba-area of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur Districts (Pb) in ordered to paralised the British Police setup.

March 1924	Police Warrant issued against Bhagat Singh, as he took part in the Community Service to serve a Jatha (Religious-protestant group to the JAITO Morcha).
April 1924	Bhagat Singh left his family and house, and reached Kanpur to serve the Bharat MATA under the guidance of Pandit Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi.
October 1924	A large scale floods in Ganga and the Yamuna rivers cause great loss in U.P. in which Bhagat Singh work hard for the rehabilitation of people.
Oct. Nov 1924	Nankana Sahib Saka- Jathedar Laxman Singh was burnt alive at the Gurudwara of Birth place of Guru Nanak Dev, by Mahant Narain Dass with the help of English Police.
August 9, 1925	A decoity occurred in a train in which the Hindustan Republican Army looted the government treasury, later on called as the Kakory-decoity in Indian History.
October 7, 1925	Court case started in Kakor.
February 27, 1926	Six Babbar Akali Sikh, i.e. Krishan Singh Garhgaj, Santa Singh, Dalip Singh, Nand Singh, Karam Singh and Dharam Singh were hanged on the Holi day (a festival).
March 1926	Bhagwati Charan Vohra and Bhagat Singh started a new organization "NAUJAWAN BHARAT SABHA" at Lahore.
September 1926	First written appeal to "The Youngman" of Punjab was made.
October 1926	A bomb blast occurred at Lahore in the Dushera festival in which many people were injured.

April 6, 1927	Judgment of Kakori case delivered, four were ordered to hang until death.
April 12, 1927	Punjab Kirti Kissan Party was founded by Sohan Singh Josh at Lahore.
May 1927	Bhagat Singh was arrested at Lahore in a bomb case called "Dushera Bomb Case" and remained behind the bars for one month. The famous photograph, in which Bhagat Singh as a Sikh Youngman sat on a cot, was taken by the police for its record.
17 th December 1927	Rajinder Nath Lehri, a member of Hindustan Republic Army was hanged in Gonda Jail for Kakori Case.
19 th December 1927	Pandit Ram Parshad Bismal (SAR-FAROSHI KI TAMANA-AB HAMARE DIL MAI HAI) the senior most founder member of HRA and a famous revolutionary Poet, was hanged in the Central jail of Gorakhpur (U.P.)—Ashfaq-ula- was hanged in Faizabad jail and Master Roshan Lal was hanged at Allahabad for Kakori Case.
3 rd February 1928	The Simmon Commission landed at Bombay.
March-Jul 1928	Bhagat Singh worked in the editorial Board of 'KIRTI' a magazine started by Sohan Singh Josh, and Bhagat Singh wrote down various articles on the life of revolutionaries, the Socialism and the Anarchism.
March 1928	Bhagat Singh met Sohan Singh Josh at Amritsar and discussed with him about the role of students and youth in freedom struggle. Sohan Singh was working for the reactivation of Naujawan Bharat Sabha,

which remained in-active for a year or so. Both agreed to join hand and work for Peasants and workers.

6th April 1928

The written manifesto of Naujawan Bharat Sabha (NBS) was finalized by Bhagat Singh, Sohan Singh Josh and Bhagwati Charan Vohra.

11,12,13rd April 1928

A large conference of the youth, workers and peasants was held at Amritsar in which Bhagat Singh was appointed as the General Secretary of NBS, while Bhagwati Charan Vohra was assigned the duty of Propaganda secretary of NBS.

August 1928

Bhagat Singh left 'the Kirti' and went to U.P., Bihar and West Bengal to mobilized the young militants and revolutionaries working for various organization differently, to work united

8-9 Sept 1928

A meeting of young revolutionary was held at Ferozshah Kotla ruins at Delhi in which 60 delegates from 7 provinces took part and the Hindustani Socialistic Republic Association was founded with Chander Shekhar Azad as its Commander-in-chief and Bhagat Singh as chief co-ordinator

15th Sept 1928

Bhagat Singh cut off his long hair and beard at Ferozpur in Dr. Nigam's Clinic.

18th Sept 1928

Bharat Naujawan Sabha took the decision at Lahore, to participate in the action of Boycott of the Simmon Commission.

2nd October 1928

Second Conference of Punjab Kirti Kissan Party held at Lallyalpur (Now, Faislabad, Pakistan)

- 30th Oct 1928 The Simmon Commission reached Lahore and was greeted with black flags and big demonstration being led by Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Scott led the Lathi Charge on Lala ji .
- 17 November 1928 Lala Lajpat Rai succumbed to the injuries being hurled by Mr. Scott, the then Superintendent of Police Lahore.
- 2nd December 1928 D.J. Boyd, the Commissioner of enquiry, submitted its report on 30th October happening at Lahore. (Lathi Charge on Lala Ji)
- 10 December 1928 A meeting of H.S.R.A. Punjab Unit was held at Mouzang House Lahore in which Chander Shekhar Azad, Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Jai Dev, Jai Gopal and Durga Bhabhi (wife of Bhagwati Charan Vohra) took part and the decision to "Kill Scott and avenge the death of Lala ji" was taken.
- 15 December 1928 A full rehearsal of the planned action was carried out by Bhagat Singh and others, as how to kill Scott. The posters were written with ink by Bhagat Singh
- 17th December 1928 Mr. J.P. Saunders (miss identified as Mr. Scott) was killed by Rajguru and Bhagat Singh at 4.20 p.m. at the gate of Police Headquarter. An other police head constable Channan Singh was also killed in the action by Chandra Shekhar Azad and the three escaped from the site.
- 17 Dec. 1928 At around 6 p.m. a meeting was again held at Mouzang House to discuss the killing of Saunders instead of Scott. So the hand written posters were amended accordingly. Bhagat Singh changed the name of Scott by Saunders

- 17-18 Dec. 1928 Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev reached Amritsar on Bicycle and stayed with comrade Sohan Singh Josh and left at 4-5 a.m.
- 19 December 1928 In the early hours, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev reached at Durga Bhabhi's house and made a plan to escape from Lahore.
- 20th December 1928 Bhagat Singh, Durga Bhabhi and her 3 years old son Sachin boarded the Punjab Mail train along with Rajguru for Calcutta (Kolkatta)
- 21-25 December 1928 1st All India Workers and Peasant Party conference held at Calcutta. (Bhagat Singh met S.S. Josh)
- 22 December 1928 Bhagat Singh reached Kolkatta along with Durga Devi and stayed at a house of a Marwari-rich-man Mr. Chhajju Ram- Laxmi Devi.
- 25 December 1928 Pt. Chandra Shakhar Azad, mother and cousin sister of Sukhdev along with Pt.Kishori Lal left Lahore by train.
- 25-31 December 1928 Annual session of the Indian National Congress was held in Kolkatta. Bhagat Singh attended the general session as a common volunteer.
- 1-10 January 1929 Bhagat Singh met Jatinder Nath Dass and other revolutionaries to make them agreed for co-ordination.
- Jan to Mar 1929 Remain active at Hing Mandi Agra and prepared bombs and planning for a new action; "the Central assembly- Bomb"
- 14, 15 February 1929 Jatinder Nath Dass successfully made a bomb at Hing Mandi Agra.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 15 th March 1929 | The F.I.R. was lodged at Meerut City against a group of communists called as the Meerut Conspiracy Case (MCC) |
| 20 th March 1929 | 33 prominent leaders of the communist Party of India, the All India Peasants and Workers Party and Trade Unionist were arrested under M.C.C. |
| 24-25 th March 1929 | A meeting of HSRA was held at Agra and it was decided to throw a bomb in the Central Hall of the National Assembly, New Delhi and name of Ram Saran Dass and Battu Keshaware Dutt was finalized for the action. |
| 28-29 March 1929 | HSRA discussed in details about the new action and due to firm stand of Sukhdev, the name of Bhagat Singh was finalized instead of Ram Saran Dass, to through the bomb. |
| 30 March 1929 | Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt reached Delhi and stayed at Roshan Ara Road to make the necessary arrangements for the action. |
| 4 April 1929 | Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt went to a Photo Studio at the Kashmiri Gate Delhi and photographed together |
| 6 April 1929 | Both went to the Central Hall of the National Assembly to access the situation. |
| 8 th April 1929 | The bomb was thrown by Bhagat Singh in the Central Hall and B.K.Dutt threw the pamphlets and both offered themselves for the Police arrest. |
| 9-10 April 1929 | Bhagat Singh was interrogated in the police lockup at Chandni Chaunk Delhi while B.K. Dutt was put at Darya Ganj Police Station. |
| 15 April 1929 | Police arrested Sukhdev, Jai Gopal and |

	Pt.Kishori Lal from a house at Lahore.
1,2&7May1929	Police raid on HSRA offices at Agra, Jhansi and Saharanpur.
7Mar-12Jun 1929	The Trial of the Assembly Bomb Case was held at Delhi.
6 th June 1929	The Historic joint statement of Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt read out by Asif Ali in the Delhi Court.
12 th June 1929	Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt were sentence to life imprisonment and were sent to Multan Jail.
15 th June 1929	Bhagat Singh & B.K.Dutt started indefinite Hunger strike at Multan & Lahore jail.
30 June 1929	Bhagat Singh's day was observed in support of the Hunger Strike.
10 th July 1929	The trial of Lahore Conspiracy case stared at Lahore and Bhagat Singh was shifted to the Central jail Lahore.
12 th July 1929	An indefinite hunger strike was again started by Bhagat Singh and his associate in Lahore.
9 th August 1929	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru met Bhagat Singh and others at the Central jail Lahore.
13 September 1929	Jatin Dass died due to prolonged hunger strike and became a true Martyr.
30 September 1929	Shiv-Deo-Rajguru arrested at Pune.
19-20 th October 1929	2 nd Conference of the Punjab Student Union held at Lahore in which Bhagat Singh sent his written message to the youths and the students of Punjab.
22 nd December 1929	Bhagat Singh wrote his views on 'the

- slogan'; LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION,
to the editor of the Modern Review
- 23 December 1929 An unsuccessful attempt was made by HSRA to blowup the train carrying the Viceroy Lord Irwin at Delhi but he escaped unhurt.
- 25-31 Dec. 1929 The Annual session of the Indian National Congress was held at Lahore to declared the total Independence but no announcement was made.
- 24 Jan 1930 Bhagat Singh and his comrades send greeting to the 3rd International commune on the Birthday of Lenin.
- 26th Jan 1930 The Hindustan Socialistic Republic Association released its manifesto.
- 26 Jan 1930 Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru unfurled the National flag at the bank of the river RAVI at Lahore and declared "the Total Independent Movement"
- 1 May 1930 A special Tribunal was constituted under a special Act-III of 1930 with Justice J.Coldstream as its Chairman while justice Agha Haider and G.C. Hilton were other two members to hear the proceeding of Lahore Conspiracy Case.
- 3rd May 1930 The Naujwan Bharat Sabha was declared as unlawful under the Seditious Meetings Act.
- 16 May 1930 Bhai Randhir Singh an Old Gadhraite was shifted to the Central Jail Lahore from the Nagpur Jail..
- 28th May 1930 Bhagwati Charan Vohra was killed in an accidental bomb explosion while he was

	testing a bomb at the bank of the River Ravi.
21st June 1930	New Tribunal was re-established to hear the trial, and Justice J.K. Tapp and Justice Abdul Kadar were the new members.
10 th July 1930	The special Tribunal framed the charges against all the 15 culprits while 3 were set free.
16 August 1930	Bhagat Singh wrote letter to the jailor to allow a meeting with his father in order to engage a new lawyer to defend his case.
10 Sept. 1930	The last sitting of the Tribunal was held and the trial was over. The judgment was fixed for 7 th October.
20 Sept. 1930	Sardar Kishan Singh filed a special petition in the High Court to release Bhagat Singh.
1-2 Oct 1930	A letter being written by Bhagat Singh was published in the Newspaper in which he criticised his father for the writ-petition.
4 th Oct. 1930	An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of Khan Bahadur Aziz Khan the Special Investigating Officer and the SSP.(C.I.D.) Punjab.
4 th Oct. 1930	An unofficial meeting was held in Central Jail Lahore between Bhai Randhir Singh and Bhagat Singh at 5 p.m. before the release of the former.
6-7 Oct 1930	Bhagat Singh wrote the famous article "Why I am an Atheist".
7 th Oct. 1930	The special Tribunal pronounces its judgment in which Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were awarded death penalty.

- and the death warrant were issued for the execution on 27th October 1930.
- 15 Oct 1930 : A mercy petition was filled in the Privy council by D.N. Prit on behalf of Bhagat Singh.
- 20 Oct 1930 : The appeal application was rejected by the five members jury.
- 22 Oct 1930 : Mahatma Gandhi refused to participate in the 1st Round Table Conference scheduled for the November 1930, at London.
- 23 Dec 1930 : An associate of Bhagat Singh Hari Krishan fired two bullets on the Governor of Punjab, Sir Geoffrey-de-Montmorency I.C.S. at the convocation of the Punjab University Lahore.
- 15 Jan 1931 : Bhagat Singh wrote 'the forwards to the book 'Dream Land by Ram Saran Dass.
- 30 Jan 1931 : The Punjab Governor's Shooting Case placed before the District Magistrate Lahore against Hari Krishan and others.
- 2nd Feb 1931 : Bhagat Singh wrote an article "The Revolutionary Programmed" in which he described in detail about work to be done by the youth of India. This article was found by the British Police from the house of Bimla Pasha Devi and was published in a book "Anot on the progress of the Bangal United Front Movement" being written by an English officer of C.I.D. Mr. C.E.S. Fairware in 1936.
- 6 Feb 1931 : Pt. Moti Lal Nehru died at Allahabad. (Nehru was married to a Brahmin girl, of Lahore)

10 Feb 1931	Privy Council rejects the petitions of Bhagat Singh.
11 Feb 1931	New Delhi formally inaugurated by the Viceroy of India Lord Irwin.
14 Feb 1931	Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya wrote a letter to Lord Irwin to spare the life of three young men.
16 Feb 1931	A special petition was filed by Jiwan Lal Baljit Singh, and Sham Lal in the High Court.
17 Feb 1931	Gandhi Irwin talk begins at New Delhi.
17&19 Feb 1931	Special mercy applications were moved by Smt. Vidya Wati, the mother of Bhagat Singh at Delhi in the office of Governor General Council.
27 th Feb 1931	Pt.Chandra Shekhra Azad fell to Martyrdom in an encounter with the police in the Alferd Park Allahabad.
3 rd March 1931	All the meeting with family members and other were banned, Punjab Government banned all the meeting of family members and others with Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. Bhagat Singh wrote his last letter to his younger brother Kulbir Singh and Kultar Singh.
5 th March 1931	Gandhi Irwin Pact was signed and declared jointly at New Delhi.
6 th March 1931	Mahatma Gandhi held a press conference at Darya Ganj, Delhi where he answered the question on the sentence to Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev
7 th March 1931	An open protest letter was delivered to

Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi on behalf of the youth of India, titled, "Where is your peace?" in favour of Bhagat Singh Rajguru and Sukhdev.

- 19 March 1931 Gandhi met Lord Irwin at Delhi on returning from Bombay and discussed about the date of execution
- 20 March 1931 Bhagat Singh sent a memorandum to the Governor Punjab and urged him to shoot them by the Military Squad, with bullets instead of hanging as they had declared a war with the Empire..
- 20 March 1931 Subhash Chander Bose organized a public rally at Delhi in favour of the three young men. Gandhi met Home Secretary.
- 21 March 1931 Gandhi wrote another letter to Irwin to reconsider his decision to carry out the execution.

23 March 1931

(From the official records and from the narration of Dalip Singh Allahabadi)

- (Morning)** 9 a.m. Sardar Kishan Singh (father) Lala Chint Ram Thapper (Uncle of Sukhdev) the mothers of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were assembled at the gate of Central Jail Lahore along with 100 members for the last meeting.
- 11a.m. The jail Authority disallowed Lala Chint Ram and other to met Sukhdev as they were not the blood relatives, although Lala ji had a permission letter from the Chief Secretary Punjab for the last meeting.

- (noon) 12'o Sardar Kishan Singh and the mother of Rajguru also decided to boycott the last meeting in sympathy with Lala Chint Ram Thapper and other.
- 1 p.m. A special leave petition was filled in the High Court Punjab by Amolak Ram and Badri Parsad advocate Justice Bhide fixed the hearing at 3 p.m. All the relatives and friends remain at the Court premises.
- 3 p.m. Justice Bhide listened the arguments of Badri Parsad and Amolak Ram on the application.
- 4p.m. Justice Bhide rejected the application for postponing the execution.
- 4.30p.m. Lawyer Pran Nath Mehta moved an application for the personal meeting with Bhagat Singh and other in order to know the last will, and permission was granted.
- 5 p.m. Pran Nath Mehta entered the jail and met Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev.
- 5.30p.m. P.N. Mehta came out and told the last will of the three to their relative. He saw no activity what so ever indicating the early execution.
- EVENING** 6 p.m. Sardar Kishan Singh and Lala Chint Ram requested the relatives and other people to returned back to the city and wait for the morning as they all presumed that the execution would be carried out at the Dawn of next day more over they both judge the anger and sentiments of he crowd so they retreat to the city.
- 6 p.m. The jail Authority went to the death cell and informed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and

- Sukhdev about the execution to be carried out soon and they might take bath.
- 7 p.m. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev raised the slogans and the other prisoner replied "Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev—Zindabad", and went to the gallows.
- 7 p.m. Some people who were left at the gate of the jail rushed to the city as they heard the roaring slogans from inside the jail and immediately informed Sardar Kishan Singh and other.
- 7.15 p.m. The hangman released the lever and three were hanging.
- (Night) 8-9 p.m. All the relatives and the common people assembled outside the jail and start enquiring about the happening while some leaders contacted local authorities to get the dead bodies of their brave Heroes.
- 9.30-10 p.m. Some local agents of the C.I.D. and Police mixed up with the crowd and declared that the dead bodies were removed through a broken wall on the back of the jail. People rushed to the back side.
- 10 p.m. Military lorry came out from the jail loaded with fire wood and three unconscious bodies and headed toward Ferozpur Road.
- 10.30-11p.m. Unconscious bodies reached in the Cantonment area at a fixed point and then were shot dead as described by Dalip Singh Alahabadi or the lorry was heading towards Husainiwala.

24 March 1931

- (Midnight) 1 a.m. Either the lorry with three dead bodies reached Husainiwala on the bank of Satluj Or on the pre selected place at the right banks of Beas river and were put on fire.
- 1-2 a.m. The District Authority made announcement about the cremation at the bank of the Satluj through Wall Posters.
- 2-3 a.m People of Ganda Singh Wala and other villages might saw the flames of pyres and reached to the spot of cremation and on seeing the people the British police might retreat to the barracks.(might be the secret force of police.
- 3-4 a.m Two volunteers from Ferozpur boarded the train to Lahore to inform about the cremation to the relatives of the dead.
- (Morning) 5-6 a.m The two volunteers reached the Bradhau Hall and informed Jai Dev Gupta and Bibi Amar Kaur about the likely place of the cremation.
- 6-7a.m Jai Dev Gupta, two volunteers from Ferozpur and another boarded a train to Ferozpur.
- 8-9 a.m Jai Dev Gupta and other reached Ganda Singh wala Railway Station 4 miles (6-7 Kilometers) from Husainiwala Headwork's.
- 9-10 a.m People might have started the search of the exact place of the cremation.
- 10-11a.m Bibi Amar Kaur, sister of Bhagat Singh and some other people would have reached at

Husainiwala and collected the bodies' remains, bones, flesh and ashes.

- 2 p.m. An announcement was made in public gathering at Lahore that the bodies' remains shall reach very soon and would be carried to the banks of RAVI for cremation.
- 3 p.m. A big procession started with three arthees ahead of it.
- 6 p.m. The procession reached on the banks of RAVI and a public meeting held there.
- 7 p.m. Finally the bodies' remains put on fire and the cremation took place.

A complete hartal was observed all over Punjab, Delhi and U.P. in the three heroes but communal riots broke out, only in Kanpur in which Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, the guide & guru of Bhagat Singh was stabbed to death.

Pages of Diary of Mr. V. M. Smith, Superintended of Police,
Political, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab

The Secretary under C. P. Singh
Lajpat Rai, a Lahore pleader
was for many years a prominent figure
in the struggle for Indian independence.
He was not a religious leader, but it is
probable that in the purely political field
he wielded more influence in the Punjab
than did Mahatma Gandhi.

When the Simon Commission (appointed
by the Home Govt. to make recommenda-
tions for a further instalment of autonomy
came to Lahore in the autumn of 1928
it was met at the railway station
by a large crowd, consisting largely
of students, shouting 'Simon, go back!
& threatening violence. At the head of
this crowd was Lajpat Rai. A struggle
ensued in the course of which the police
had to use force. No shots were fired.
The only weapons used being bamboo
poles. Lajpat Rai himself was struck
but not seriously injured. At the head
of the police was Mr. A. J. Scott, the
head of the District Police Force.

A few days afterwards Lajpat
Rai was taken ill & died. He had always
been in delicate health, and it is possible
that the affair at the Railway Station

lost his end. Unfortunately the authorities did not insist on a post mortem examination. Consequently suspicion strengthened into conviction that he had succumbed to police violence, with Mr. Scott very much in the picture.

In the Lahore police there was a young officer named Saunders, a comparative new recruit. He was charming, a good cricketer & therefore popular with both the British & the Indians. He was only just beginning to get the feel of Indian politics & he had no enemies. One day, when Mr. Scott was visiting an out-station, his young assistant left work at about 4 p.m., jumped on his motor-cycle & had barely begun to move off when he received a bullet in his back & died instantaneously. An orderly ^{aged Charles Singh} ~~was~~ ^{asked to} ~~was~~ ^{bring} his assistance but ~~was~~ ^{was} mortally wounded in the thigh. The assailant or assailants made off through the Dargah Anjale-Vadia College, which was only about one hundred yards away. ~~It had long been notorious for its anti-British slant in its curriculum.~~ The British community was horrified & many Muslim students of the Islamic College who liked Mr. Saunders as

a sportsman were equally indignant. It was known later that a mistake had been made: the intended victim was Mr. Scott. The murder took place exactly one month after the fracas at the railway station & was obviously an act of revenge for the death of Lajpat Rai.

Some months elapsed before the police obtained any clue, after which events followed rapidly as a big conspiracy of terrorism was revealed. Three men were sent to trial for the murder of Mr. Saunders & Chaman Singh. Their names were Bhagat Singh, Raj Gurn & Sukh Dev. They were convicted & sentenced to death, but everything possible was done by popular clamour & legal devices to postpone execution & secure commutation of sentences. For ~~was numerous in officials in number that even the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) was inclined to leniency.~~

The final appeal was dismissed, in April 1931
~~the authorities have written in convincing the full court.~~ Normally executions took place at 9 a.m., but it was decided to act at once before the public

could become aware of what had happened.

Between Lahore City & the Lahore Central Jail lay the greater part of the area known as the civil station, mainly occupied by Europeans. An early morning execution would mean a near concourse of Indians outside the jail, inevitable demonstrations and a possibility that British lives would be endangered at the hands of an inflamed mob. Close to the jail was the office of the local Congress organisation, which undoubtedly had its agents alive to all that was happening inside the walls of the jail. At about 7 p.m. shouts of 'Ingiliz Tinkabad' were heard from inside the jail. This was correctly interpreted as a signal that the jail system was about to drop.

In the early evening a large lorry arrived with a load of firewood for the jail. Sometime later the same lorry left with the same load but with the addition of three bodies. The lorry headed in the direction of Ferozpur but followed a diversion

and arrived at a secluded spot on the banks of the river Beas, where a Sikh friend was waiting to remove the bodies according to orthodox Sikh rites. (The only unconventional proceeding was the use of barazans, by reason of the lying of the bodies, which were assigned to the river). A police picket at a bus-stop crossing on the Ferozpur road ^{had been} sent out to hold up any suspect vehicles.

Meanwhile in Lahore a rumour had spread that the executions had already taken place. Anticipating this, the Deputy Commissioner had arranged to have posters printed ^{at the office} that the sentences of hanging had been carried out & that the bodies had been cremated in an orthodox manner & correctly disposed of. The effect of this was to disorganise any plans that were hatching for a march through the Canal Lines to the jail. That night & the following morning passed comparatively peacefully, but it was announced that there would be a big demonstration on

the banks of the Ravi in the
afternoon. No attempt was made
to stop this demonstration. He was
allowed to let off steam.

During the day it was announced
that the cremation site had been
discovered & that some bones ^{and ashes} were
being brought into Lahore for public
display. There can be little doubt
that these bones were not those of
the executed man but of some animal.

Bhagat Singh was a brave man.
He was arrested in the act of throwing
a bomb in the Legislative Assembly in
Delhi and it is a pity that he should
have thought that a cowardly murder
would hasten Indian independence.

Professionally the trial was of
special interest to the police in India.
It was the first occasion on which
evidence was produced to show that
the workings in a bullet correspond
with those on the barrel of a pistol.

He is now regarded in the Punjab
as a national hero.

and
character
also his picture is on
the wall in Punjab Govt

Box 57

[illegible]

Classification

52

1. The first of these is the *Order of the*
of the

[illegible]

End Notes

After the social cremation of the bodies, remains on 24 th March 1931, evening at about 6-7 p.m. at the banks of the river RAVI in Lahore every body returned home with a sad swollen and grief stricken hearts. Even a small bit of any anger which was erupted in the hearts of a common Punjabi was **“allowed to let off the steam”**(V.W.Smith) by the British Authorities of Lahore.

There was a complete hartal in the cities and the towns to mourn the death of ‘The Trinity’. A big funeral procession was organized by the political-social leaders of the Lahore, it took at least 2-3 hours to pass through a point. The atmosphere was full of anger, “Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev-Zindabad –Long live Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev. INQUALAB-ZINDABAD –Long live the Revolution”. Every one raising the slogans with full cry and demonstrate his/her anger by raising arms or by beating their chests/breasts.

So, no attempt was made to stop this demonstration, the mob was allowed to show their anger.

Nothing happened as desired and thought by Bhagat Singh. No mass movement revealed against ‘The British Raj’. The ashes of the three Martyrs were taken to many parts of India. Every where leaders praised the courage and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, but there was not a single leader who could lead the Indian anger and grief against the Imperialist.

Then came an idea to raise a suitable memorial of the Martyrs after 15 days of the execution. All India Bhagat Singh, Rajguru-

Sukhdev Memorial Committee was formed on 8th April 1931, with Mehta Anand Kishore as its Chairman. The other members of the Committee were Dr. Satyapal, Kishan Singh (Father), Baba Nihal Singh, Lala Pindi Dass, Lala Pirithi Chand, Sant Mangal Singh, Dr. Mohamad Aalam, Maulvi Abdul Gani, Mangal Singh, Dr. Dharamveer, Sardar Gopal Singh Qaumi and Sardool Singh Kavisher.

Baba Nihal Singh was appointed the president of the AIBRS Memorial Committee, while the sister of Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Mrs. Sushila Ghosh was assigned the duty of the Secretary. The Committee issued an open appeal to the Indians to donate to raise a suitable memorial at Lahore. Regarding the same, Mehta Anand Kishore also wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi replied on 13th April 1931, which is preserved in a file of Home Depts. (Political) file No. 33/11-1931 in the British Library, London, in that Mahatma ruled out any aid or help to raise any Memorial Proceeding to him, if any memorial would be raised with any doubt on the intention of the dead, it would encourage the worshippers to follow the same path of the dead. So I am least interested to have any link with any such Memorial.

Here Mahatma Gandhi was not differing with the Britishers. The Englishmen at Lahore and Delhi did not desire so and it was also a point of discussion between Bhagat Singh and some British officers during the last days in the Central jail Lahore.

Mr. H. Williamson of Home Department Punjab Government instructed the Districts Authorities 'The Government takes a very serious view of such action. No Memorial is allowed to be raised in the names of those who were the murderers of the police. If it is impossible to stop legally, then every effort be made to stop this and break the Committee.

Although many memorials were raised in free India, in the names of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, but a **true memorial** at a **right place** is still a distant dream, and more distant is "THE AIMS AND OBJECTS" for which the three young men sacrificed their lives.

